

THE
GENUINE HISTORY
OF THE
BRITONS
ASSERTED

AGAINST MR. MACPHERSON.

THE SECOND EDITION,
CORRECTED.

By the Rev. Mr. WHITAKER,
AUTHOR OF
THE HISTORY OF MANCHESTER.

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H I S T O R Y

M A N C H E S T E R.



BOOK THE FIRST.

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M E M.

This Work is not merely the History of a
single Town. It is on a more liberal and exten-
sive plan. And Manchester is only the center
of a large circle, that generally extends itself
over the island.

THE
GENUINE HISTORY
OF THE
BRITONS
ASSERTED.

TO an historian that is curious to observe the striking variations of national characters, and to a philosopher that is delighted to note the advancements of the human mind in sentiment and knowledge, the great and recent change in the historical genius of Scotland must appear equally remarkable and pleasing¹. Accustomed as the Scotch have for ages been to believe implicitly in a fantastical history, they have lately emancipated their minds from the bondage, and in a great measure

¹ Of Scotland, properly so called, or the country to the north of Forth and Clyde.

B

renounced

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renounced the fabulous system of their ancestors. The despicable forgeries of their annalists are no longer obtruded upon us by the zeal of mistaken patriotism, for the truths and realities of history. They are either brought forward with a diffidence that betrays its own convictions of their falshood, are mentioned merely to be condemned, or are entirely past over in a contemptuous silence. And that enlarged and masculine turn of thinking, which commenced near two centuries ago in England, has happily extended its influence among the mountains of Scotland. The monstrous creations of a Geoffry and a Fordun, or the authors that they plundered, the wild spectres and goblins which had for ages hovered in the gloom of our earlier history, are now chased away by the daylight that is diffused over the face of our annals. The Græcian and Roman writers are allowed to be the only standards of historical truth. And the whole Island is now, for the first time, united in the prosecution of its genuine history.

The human mind, however, even in its detection of the greatest falsities, is continually checked in its operations by the feebleness of its own efforts, and perpetually stopped in its progress by the contractedness of its own views. The latter are generally limited to a single point. And the former are mostly too weak, even when they have triumphed over some of its

OWN

own prejudices, to counteract the full force of national vanity, and to suppress the whole power of hereditary credulity, in itself or others. Ireland remains to this day superstitiously devoted to her antient history, fullenly turns away from the light of reformation that is spread over the neighbouring island, and wraps herself in the gloom of her own legendary annals. And the genius of Scotland has so greatly vitiated her judgement by the long indulgence of her fancy in history, that even now, when she is reclaimed from her former extravagancies, she seems strongly inclined to wanton excursions in the regions of fact and incident. That national vanity which originally generated, and afterwards supported, the mis-shapen brood of her former fictions, appears equally active at present among the historical writers of Scotland, and has equally a tendency to distort and disguise the genuine history of our island. And this is particularly obvious in the repeated attempts that have been recently made by them, to new-model the antient accounts of Ireland and the Scotch, and to fashion them to the standard of their own popular caprices. The antient historians speak of Ireland as the mother of the Scots, and Caledonia as the parent of the Picts: and the present Scotch must therefore be the descendants of Irish emigrants, who settled among the Caledonians, and communicated their own name to them. But this, it

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seems, the Scotch disdain to admit. And in that spirit of humourful pride, which had originally loaded the annals of their country with all the impertinence of dreams, the whole current of history is to be violently opposed, the Ireland of the Romans is to be interpreted into the present Scotland, and the Scotch are to be made the Aborigines of Caledonia. This conduct results from such a littleness of soul, and betrays such a vulgarity of prejudice and passion, that candour would gladly hesitate to believe, if fact did not convince her of the truth of it.

The first appearance of this wayward folly seems to have been in the writings of Sir George Mackenzie, the first Scotch author, I think, who dared, however gently, to reject all the ruder and earlier fictions of the national history¹. The adhering remains of the legendary spirit of the times, it appeared coeval with the first dawn of historical liberty in Scotland, and has continued the com-

¹ In his Defence of the royal line of Scotland, 1685, in answer to Bp. Lloyd's Historical Account of Church-government, 1684; and in his Further Defence, 1686, in reply to Bp. Stillingfleet's Animadversions prefixed to his Origines Sacrae, 1685. Sir George was assisted in these works by Sir Robert Sibbald, Sir James Dalrymple, and several other Scotch antiquarians (See Dalrymple's Collections, 1705, p. r. Preface). And Sir George, in p. 359 &c. vol. I. of all his works, repeatedly but silently rejects all the long accounts of the Scots before Fergus I, and so boldly cuts off a whole millennium from their history.

panion and dishonour of it to the present period¹. And the same spirit has been particularly cultivated, within these few years, by two gentlemen of real learning and considerable talents. One of them, James Macpherson Esq., to whom the friends of poetry and history must acknowledge themselves greatly indebted, for calling out the Poems of Ossian from their original obscurity in an unknown language and an unvisited corner of the island, and for giving them to us in a version that seems to be at once bold and faithful, all animation, harmony, and grace; this gentleman, in his prefaces and notes to those poems, revived and enlarged the system of Sir George, pursued and invigorated his attempts, and violently engaged the Caledonian bard in the contest. And Mr. Macpherson was seconded in the year 1768 by John Macpherson D. D., a minister in the Isle of Sky, and the author of Critical Dissertations on the Origin &c. of the antient Caledonians, the Picts, and the Scots. This work, the intended

¹ In Sir Robert Sibbald's treatise on the Thule of the antients, published in Wallace's Orkney Islands, 1693, and Gibson's Camden, 1695; in Sir James Dalrymple's Collections for the Scottish history, 1705; in Dr. Mackenzie's Preface to his Lives of Scots Writers, vol. III. fol. 1708; in Dr. Abercromby's Martial Achievements of the Scots nation, in vol. II. fol. 1711; &c. &c. &c.

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publication of which was repeatedly announced to the world, some years before its appearance, in a strain of high commendation by Mr. Macpherson¹, seems to have been also rescued by him from the fate often incident to posthumous productions, and was, I suppose, actually prefaced by him. And, in these agreeable and sensible dissertations, an intimate acquaintance with the Highland language, and no inconsiderable knowledge of antient history, have been made the instruments to wrest the accounts of the antients from their true basis, and to push aside the whole system of the Caledonian and Irish History from its fixed and natural center. And Mr. Macpherson has lately closed the attack, in a regular and formal disquisition upon the same principles. With a knowledge of the

¹ In the preface to vol. I. of *Osian* it is said: "It was at first intended to prefix to *Osian's Poems* a discourse concerning the ancient inhabitants of Britain; but as a Gentleman in the north of Scotland, who has thoroughly examined the antiquities of this island, and is perfectly acquainted with all the branches of the Celtic tongue, is just now preparing for the press a work on that subject, the curious are referred to it." And in the Dissertation prefixed to vol. II. are these words: "This subject I have only lightly touched upon, as it is to be discussed with more perspicuity and at a much greater length, by a Gentleman, who has thoroughly examined the antiquities of Britain and Ireland." p. xix.

Highland

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Highland language superior to the Doctor's, and with a much deeper insight into antient history, he has brought the whole collected weight of evidence together, and concentrated all the scattered rays of the argument into a single point. With a faculty of thinking uncommonly vigorous and lively, and with a flow of language peculiarly elegant and spirited, he has given such additional strength to the argument, and thrown such an attractive gloss over his reasonings, that to mere modern innovations he lends all the semblance of antiquity, he persuades us where he does not convince, and bribes us over to his party with all history and reason against him.

In the only volume of the History of Manchester which has yet been published, some desire had been shewed and some pains had been taken, to clear up the original annals of Caledonia and Ireland, and to rescue them from the folly of antient fictions on the one hand, and from the wildness of modern perversions on the other. But Mr. Macpherson's Introduction, which was published about three weeks after it, has thrown us back in the progress of historical knowledge, and has once more involved the annals in all the sophistry of fiction and fancy. This therefore is a peculiar call upon me, to vindicate the notices indirectly attacked by Mr. Macpherson,

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and, what is of much more consequence in itself, to assert the violated principles of historical faith, to protect the insulted cause of antient history, and to establish the annals of Caledonia and Ireland on their former basis. And I willingly obey the call. With all the deference that is due to Mr. Macpherson as a gentleman of genius and sentiment, I shall regularly pursue his accounts and reasonings, as they successively present themselves in his pages. Disdaining the little artifices of controversy; too honourable, I hope, to create the faults that I cannot find, and too candid, I trust, to urge strongly the mere failings of humanity; I shall not expatiate upon little inaccuracies of expression, and shall not triumph over little mistakes in facts. I shall confine myself to the transactions of the Britons before and after their settlement in this island. And I shall not merely refer to the pages in Mr. Macpherson, for the passages that I mean to combat. This mode of proceeding, not being sufficiently distinct with regard to the erroneous words and obnoxious assertions, is frequently the cause of various mistakes in the writer, and is almost sure to leave the reader in a maze of uncertainty and doubt. Not to counteract my own purposes, I shall constantly produce his arguments in his own words. Not

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to injure his reasonings by maiming them, I shall give them in the quotation all the extent and force that they have in the original. And I shall place my reply at the foot, and point it directly at the heart, of each.

CHAP.

THE NATION'S ASSURANCE

to insure the property of members, I have
given them the plan of the extent and
the limits of the property in the original
plan of the property in the original
plan of the property in the original

CHART

C H A P. I.

I.

CONCERNING THE FIRST COLONY
THAT MR. MACPHERSON BRINGS
INTO BRITAIN.

PAG. 7—8. The Phocæans founding Marfeilles “when the elder Tarquin is said to have held the reins of government at Rome, the improvements introduced by the Phocæans had a great and sudden effect upon the manners of the Gauls. Agriculture, before imperfectly understood, was prosecuted with vigour and success. The means of subsistence being augmented, population increased of course; migrating expeditions were formed, to ease the country of its number of inhabitants.—Spain, Italy,—were filled with colonies from Gaul.”

Here the vigorous prosecution of agriculture, and the augmented means of subsistence, are considered as the original cause of emigrations. But surely this is asserted in opposition equally to
found

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found reasoning and universal experience. The increase in the population of any kingdom, so far as it is occasioned merely by the increase in the means of subsistence, will only be in an adequate proportion to it. The immediate cause, and the immediate effect, will be exactly equivalent. And, consequently, the improvements in agriculture can never be productive of migrations. This is obvious reasoning, embarrassed by no intricacies and obscured by no refinements of thought. And the uninterrupted experience of the world confirms the truth of it. The wretched provision, that is furnished to the common people of Ireland and the Highlands, is continually impelling them into other countries. And the infinite multiplication of the necessaries and comforts of life, in England, is as continually drawing the lower ranks of both into Southern Britain.—But I proceed to the history.

The original incident in this long chain of events, the settlement of the Phocæans in Gaul, is fixed to the reign of the elder Tarquin. The communication of their improved agriculture to the neighbouring Gauls, the general adoption of it by all the various and military tribes of that extensive country, the augmentation in the means of subsistence, the increase in the state of population, and this rising at last to such an extreme degree, that they, who, before, only “wandered” after their cattle or game over the face of the country,

country¹, were obliged to disburden themselves, by detaching large colonies into the neighbouring regions; all these successive events, even in the most sudden and rapid consecution of incidents, must necessarily have taken up one or two ages. And yet the migration into Italy, particularly, is fixed by the very authority that Mr. Macpherson quotes for it, in the very reign during which the Phocæans are said immediately before to have settled in Gaul. De transitu in Italiam Gallorum hæc accepimus, says Livy in Mr. Macpherson's own note: Prisco Tarquinio Romæ regnante,—Ambigatus,—exonerare prægravante turbâ regnum cupiens, Bellovesum ac Sigovesum—missurum se esse in quas Dii dedissent auguriis sedes ostendit. Belloveso in Italiam viam Dii dederunt. And Mr. Macpherson thus explicitly asserts the same in p. 9, “The Gauls—“first entered Italy, according to Livy, in the “reign of the elder Tarquin.” These migrations therefore were actually coæval with the settlement at Marseilles, and could not be occasioned by any remote consequences resulting from it. And the expedition into Italy, particularly, was actually undertaken *before* the settlement of the Phocæans in Gaul. It was begun, and Bellovesus had already advanced to the foot of the Alps, when the news arrived of the Phocæan de-

¹ P. 7.

scant at Marseilles. And this appears even from the account, to which Mr. Macpherson has referred us for the contrary. *Bellovesus—, profectus ingentibus peditum equitumque copiis, in Tricastinos venit. Alpes inde oppositæ erant—. Ibi quum velut septos montium altitudo teneret Gallos, circumspectarentque quânam per juncta cœlo juga in alium orbem terrarum transfirent,—allatum est, advenas quærentes agrum ab Salyum gente oppugnari. Massilienses erant hi, navibus a Phocæâ profecti* *. And Mr. Macpherson's first principle is entirely overborne, by the weight of his own authorities, and the force of his own acknowledgments.

Another objection of the same nature seems also to lie as strongly against it. And our author appears to have written this part of his dissertation with all the hasty vivacity of a man of genius, pursuing a train of new and splendid ideas, but not rigidly examining their uniformity and agreement with each other.—The same civilized Græcians, that are said to have settled in Gaul, and to have thereby introduced a more improved agriculture into it, are equally said to have previously settled in Italy. “The Pelasgi of Peloponnesus and the islands of the Archipelago were the first of the European Nomades who quitted the ambulatory life of their ancestors and applied themselves

* Livy, l. v. c. 34.

“ to the arts of civil life.—Improving their navigation by degrees, they sailed to the west,
 “ seized upon the nearest coast of Italy, and
 “ moving into the heart of that country, met
 “ with the Umbri, and rose into a mixed nation
 “ under the name of Latins. Extending their navigation still further,—the Phocæans made an
 “ establishment on the coast of Gaul.” The earlier Pelasgi, therefore, would have introduced the arts of civil life into Italy, as the later did into Gaul. And an improved agriculture would have been brought into Italy, some time before it was carried into Gaul. The earlier Pelasgi also, actually settling in the heart of Italy, and actually mixing with the natives in it, would have had a much greater communication with the Italians, than the Phocæans could have had with the Gauls, and have propagated all the arts of their country with much greater success. And the consequences deduced by Mr. Macpherson, from the introduction of the Græcian agriculture into Gaul, must have been equally and more early the consequences of it in Italy; and the migrations occasioned by it must therefore have been, not incursions from Gaul into Italy, but expeditions from Italy into Gaul. This would obviously have been the case, according to Mr. Macpherson’s own representations and reasonings. And the foundation of his system

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is here a second time destroyed, by the very hand that is employed in laying it.

P. 6—9. “ The Scythians of the western
“ Europe were, for the first time, mentioned
“ under the name of Celtæ, by Herodotus, in
“ the Eighty-seventh Olympiad. To investigate
“ the origin of that appellation, we must return
“ into a period of remote antiquity. The Pe-
“ lasgi of Peloponnesus—sailed to the west,
“ seized upon the nearest coast of Italy, and
“ —made an establishment on the coast of
“ Gaul—. The improvements introduced by
“ them had a great and sudden effect upon the
“ manners of the Gauls. Agriculture—was pro-
“ secuted—. —Population increased—; migrat-
“ ing expeditions were formed to ease the country
“ of its number of inhabitants, and the regions
“ of Europe—received successive swarms of
“ Gallic emigrants.— This revolution in the
“ north of Europe extended to the greater part
“ of its inhabitants the appellation of Celtæ,
“ which is an adjective derived from Gael, the
“ aboriginal name of the inhabitants of antient
“ Gaul.”

The original and primary cause of the Gallic emigrations, is here plainly asserted to be the improved agriculture communicated to them by the Græcians. This had a “ great and sudden
“ effect

"effect upon the manners of the Gauls," producing migrations. And therefore the Gauls, according to this representation, had never formed any migrating expeditions before. But in p.9, immediately after the words above, we are told, that "though the expeditions of the Gauls, subsequent to the settlement of the Phocæans in their country, are the first mentioned in history, we have reason to believe that they pervaded Europe with their migrating armies in a more remote period of antiquity." And surely these two representations will not mingle and unite together. The introduction of an improved agriculture by the Græcians either was or was not, in Mr. Macpherson's opinion, the original and remotely efficient cause of the Gallic migrations. If it was, he can have no reason to believe, that the Gauls pervaded Europe with their migrating armies in a remoter period of Antiquity. And, if it was not, the great and sudden effect, which it is here described to have had upon the manners of the Gauls, is all a delusion and vision.

This history of the Pelasgian refinements imported into Gaul, and producing migrations from it, is given us, in order to account for the name of Celtæ being affixed to the general body of the West-Europeans. And the migrations, occasioned by the improved state of agriculture, are said to have carried the colonies and

C

name

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name of the Gael or Celtæ over many of the regions of Europe. Yet "we have reason to believe," as we are told in p. 9, "that the Gauls pervaded Europe with their migrating armies in a more remote period of antiquity." And therefore, according to Mr. Macpherson himself, they must equally, in a more remote period, have planted the colonies and name of the Celtæ in many of the regions of Europe.

Thus does this ingenious writer go on, apparently contradicting his own positions, and refuting his own arguments. And I wrest nothing. I wish to give every passage its full import. And I desire to put an end to the examination, when I cease to prosecute it with candour.

P. 9. "The appellation of Celtæ — is an adjective derived from Gael, the aboriginal name of the inhabitants of ancient Gaul."

I feel a little reluctance in myself, to enter the field of Celtic etymology with Mr. Macpherson. A gentleman, who was bred, I apprehend, in the bosom of the Highlands; an author, who, as the translator of Ossian, must certainly be conversant with the best and oldest writers in the Erse; should naturally command such a clear and extensive view of the language, its principles, and its genius, as to deter any mere Englishman
from

from the unequal contest. But to be deterred by such reasons, I think, would betray an ignorance in the workings of the human heart. And a consciousness of superior knowledge, in any department of literature, almost always seduces a writer into a carelessness and injudiciousness in the exertion of it.

In the History of Manchester, I have endeavoured to investigate the origin of the name of *Celtæ*. I have there proved it, I think, not to be an adjective derived from Gael, but to be equally a substantive, and actually the same word, with it. And, as it is necessary for the solution of the present difficulty, and will be serviceable for the discussion of some future doubts, I shall here go over the argument again, and contract it into a smaller compass.—The Irish and Highlanders reciprocally denominate themselves by the general title of *Cael*, *Gael*, or *Gauls*. They also distinguish themselves, as the Welsh originally did, and as the Welsh distinguish them both at present, by the appellation of *Guidhil*, *Guethel*, and *Gathel*. And this is certainly the origin of the other. The intermediate *TH* being left quiescent in the pronunciation, as it is in many words of the British language, *Gathel* would immediately be formed into *Gael*. And *Gathel* is actually founded like *Gael*, by both the Irish and Highlanders at present. The appellation of *Gathel*, therefore,

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was originally the same with Gael, and the parent of it. But this is not all. The quiescent letters in British are frequently transferred from the middle to the conclusion of the word, where they are no longer quiescent; and, as Needle is popularly changed into Neeld in Lancashire, and Kathair formed into Carth and Garth, so Gathel is changed into Galath, Galat, Galt, and Celt. And we see the fact directly exemplified, in the Gael of the Continent being universally denominated Galatæ and Celtæ by the Græcians, and Gallt and Gallta by the Irish. The appellations therefore of Gathel-i, Gall-i, Galat-æ, Calet-es, An-Calit-es, and Celt-æ, are all one and the same denomination, only varied by the astonishing ductility of the Celtic, and only disguised by the alterations ever incident to a language that has been merely oral for ages¹.

P. 8—9. In consequence of the Phocæan settlement at Marseilles, “Spain, Italy,—and the British Isles were filled with colonies from Gaul, in whom the old inhabitants, if they differed originally from the Gael, were lost.”

And in p. 26, where the same subject is retouched, Mr. Macpherson speaks thus.—“The Umbri, who were the most ancient inhabitants

¹ See History of Manchester, p. 437—439.

“ of Italy (*Umborum gens antiquissima Italiæ*
 “ *existimatur. Plin. lib. iii. Umbri antiquissimus*
 “ *Italiæ populus. Flor. lib. i.),* were the posterity
 “ of Gauls who penetrated into that country
 “ long before the commencement of history
 “ (*Bocchus absolvit Gallorum veterum propagi-*
 “ *nem Umbros esse. Solin. lib. viii. Umbri prima*
 “ *veterum Gallorum proles, August. in Sem-*
 “ *pron. Umbros veterum Gallorum esse propa-*
 “ *ginem Marcus Antonius refert. Servius in*
 “ *Æneid. xii.).* We may naturally suppose that
 “ the Gauls of Belgium would have found less
 “ difficulty in crossing a very narrow channel into
 “ Britain than their countrymen at the foot of
 “ the Alps in clambering, with their wives and
 “ children, over the vast ridge of mountains
 “ which separated them from Italy. It may
 “ therefore be concluded, that Britain received
 “ very considerable colonies from the Belgic di-
 “ vision of Gaul as early, at least, as the Gael of
 “ the Alpin regions seized upon Italy under the
 “ name of Umbri.”

In these passages are contained two assertions
 concerning the first population of Britain, one
 urged as probably true, and the other produced
 as certainly so. According to the former, the
 natives of Gaul settled in Italy, under the name of
 Umbri, long before the commencement of histo-
 ry, and may therefore be concluded to have trans-
 ported themselves as early into Britain. And the

latter declares the British Isles to have received a colony of the Celtæ, in consequence of the Phœcean settlement at Marseilles. I shall consider both of these attentively.

The opinion here advanced by Mr. Macpherson concerning the Umbri, has been advanced by several writers before, in that strange humour which has been taken up by so many antiquarians, of magnifying the glory and extending the possessions of the Gauls. But the notion appears to be chimerical and groundless.

The Umbri are affirmed by both Pliny and Florus, as Mr. Macpherson himself has quoted them, to be the most antient people in Italy, or, in other words, to be the progeny of the first colonists that came into it after the flood. And, if the Umbri were a race of men derived from Gaul, Gaul must have been inhabited some ages before Italy. So accessible as the latter is across the sea from Dalmatia or from Germany by land, and therefore lying much more obvious than Gaul to the great colonies of the Noachidæ, as they converged to the West; it must, according to this representation, have never received any colony at all, till Gaul discharged its superfluous numbers into it. And a country that would have peculiarly invited the spreading hords of the East, as pushing its whole length in one vast projection into the waves of the Mediterranean, and therefore lying very happily central betwixt the three
great

great divisions of the globe, is here supposed to have continued totally wild and desolate, even for ages after Gaul was inhabited, till the Celtae had gradually spread themselves over all Gaul, till they began to increase in numbers, till they were obliged to diffuse themselves into other countries, and till they were compelled even “to clamber, with their wives and children, over “the vast ridge of mountains which separated “them from Italy.” This is such an account, as confronts every suggestion of reason, and outrages every principle of propriety. The bands, that filed through the forests of Germany into Gaul, must equally have found their way through the vallies of the Tyrolese into Italy. And the tribes, that coasted into Gaul from Greece or Dalmatia, would previously have landed upon the shore of Italy. As the great tide of European population rolled directly from the plains of Shinar to the verge of the Atlantic, in the natural course of causes and effects, no country could have been primarily inhabited from the West. And Italy peculiarly could not, open as it is on the East and its collateral points, having its northern mountains remarkably pierced with a valley through the whole breadth of them, and being compleatly barricaded by its natural ramparts on the North-West, the only point in which it borders upon Gaul. As the natives of Gaul, therefore, can never be admitted to have been

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the first planters of Italy, the Umbri can never be allowed to have been originally a colony from Gaul. And Mr. Macpherson must either deny the Umbri to have been the most antient people of Italy, or admit them not to have been originally derived from Gaul.

This reasoning is sufficient to counterbalance the assertions of such authors, as he has produced in support of the opinion. And the reasoning is happily confirmed by an historian of the most respectable character, and with whom, in a comparative estimate of authenticity and knowledge, Mr. Macpherson's writers are but mere flutterers in the regions of history. Livy asserts the first and earliest migration of the Gauls to have been only in the reign of the elder Tarquin, and about 600 years before Christ. And he is uncommonly accurate and circumstantial in his account. Gallos—eos qui oppugnaverunt Clusium non fuisse qui primi Alpes transierint, satis constat. Ducentis quippe annis antequam Clusium oppugnarent urbemque Romam caperent, in Italiam Galli transeenderunt.—De transitu in Italiam Gallorum hæc accepimus. Prisco Tarquinio Romæ regnante, —Belloveso—in Italiam viam Dii dederunt. Profectus ingentibus peditum equitumque copiis, in Tricastinos venit. Alpes inde oppositæ erant, quas inextsuperabiles vias haud equidem miror, nullâ dum viâ (quod quidem continens memoria sit, nisi de Hercule fabulis

fabulis credere libet) superatas. Crossing the Alps, fufisque acie Tuscis, haud procul Ticino flumine—condidere urbem, Mediolanum appellarunt. Alia subinde manus,—Elitovio duce,—favente Belloveso, quum transcendisset Alpes, ubi nunc Brixia ac Verona urbes sunt—confidunt. Post hos Salluvii—circa Ticinum amnem—. Deinde Boii Lingones—, quum jam inter Padum atque Alpes omnia tenerentur, Pado ratibus trajecto, non Etruscos modò, sed etiam Umbros, agro pellunt. Tum Senones, recentissimi advenarum, attacked Clusium and burnt Rome¹. And the regular detail of such an historian fixes [the point beyond all possibility of doubt. The Gauls first entered Italy about the year 600 before Christ, when the country was compleatly inhabited from end to end.

But the authors quoted by Mr. Macpherson have been wronged in the application by him. The Umbri might be the descendants of antient Gauls, and even the first inhabitants of Italy; and yet not be derivatives from Gaul. As the great body of the Celtæ pushed by land or coasted by sea for the seat of their future Empire in Gaul, a part of them might divide from the rest, and make a settlement in Italy. And this appears, I think, to have been actually the case. That the Umbri were really Celtæ or Gauls, is asserted by such authorities, as, however insignificant in

¹ L. v. c. 33—35.

themselves,

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themselves, we cannot in justice reject without a superior authority to the contrary. And the remains of Celtic or Gallic appellations; among the Umbri, are a strong confirmation of their assertions. I shall mention only two, because they seem both to have been prior to any migration of colonies from Gaul. And these are their own national and original appellation of Umbri, and the similar appellation of their originally principal river, the Umbrio, both evidently the same with the Umbri and Humber in Britain; the general appellation of the Celtæ, in Italy and this island, being communicated by both to a great æstuary or river in their country, and our Humber being therefore written and pronounced Chumber formerly¹.

A migration then from Gaul into Italy, before the reign of Tarquin the First, is precluded by the positive voice of history. And all inferences, derived from the supposition, must equally fall with it to the ground. A migration from Gaul into Britain, as early at least as the other, is inferred from it by Mr. Macpherson. And the conclusion is reasonable in itself. But the premises have been here proved to be false. And Mr. Macpherson must refer his first colony from Gaul to the æra of the Phocæan establishment in it.

¹ Carte, vol. i. p. 17,

The former opinion was given to us only as probable. This is presented as certain. And it challenges for its support the authority of Cæsar and the testimony of Tacitus. Tacitus is quoted thus, *In universum tamen æstimanti Gallos vicinum solum occupasse, credibile est*; and Cæsar thus, *Britanni non multum a Gallicâ differunt consuetudine*. But one of these authorities is not quoted fairly. The latter, which is here applied to the Britons in opposition to the Belgæ¹, and has the word *Britanni* added to it in order to make it applicable, actually relates to the Belgæ in opposition to the Britons, is actually referred to the Belgæ by Mr. Macpherson himself in p. 33, and really relates only to the Belgæ of Kent. And, even if both these passages were fairly quoted, they very obviously determine neither the fact nor period of the Gallic settlement in Gaul. They prove indeed the very high probability of a Gallic colony originally settling in the island: but they evince not the certainty of it. And they do not give us the least intimation concerning the particular æra of the settlement. Mr. Macpherson, deriving this in a long consecution of causes and effects from the Phocæan establishment in Gaul, fixes that one or two centuries after the establishment, and about 400 or 500 years before Christ. But he also fixes the æra exactly at the period of it, as he ranks the mi-

¹ See 2d and 3d Sections of this chapter.

gration into Britain coæval with the expedition into Italy. Tacitus and Cæsar, however, lend not the smallest sanction to either part of his chronology. And, even if his authority could be of any moment on a subject of this nature, its own contradictoriness must destroy itself.

THIS is the whole of our Author's argument, with respect to the coming of the first colonists into Britain. And I am sorry to observe on reviewing the whole, that, in the progress of the argument, he seems to be unhappy in every movement. And the period and fact of a Gallic colony originally settling in Britain, which are the first great points in his historical system, are left absolutely doubtful and undetermined.—But, as these are two particulars of some consequence in the history of Britain, the great design of the present work, to enlighten the dark period of its earlier annals, naturally raises in me a desire to ascertain them. It must be hazardous indeed to attempt, where Mr. Macpherson has failed. But it can be no disgrace to be baffled, where even he has been unsuccessful.

The derivation of the Britons from the Gauls does not depend, as Tacitus and Cæsar have placed it, upon any precarious reasonings from
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the vicinity of the countries and a similarity in the nations. It may be grounded upon better principles. And it is clearly demonstrated by the national appellation of Gaul, which I have already shewn in part, and shall fully shew hereafter, to have been formerly, or to be at present, retained by the British inhabitants in every quarter of the island. This proof is equally short and decisive. But the period, in which the Gauls first crossed the channel into Britain, is much more difficult to be determined. It may, I think, be settled in this manner.

The first migration of the Gauls that is recorded by history, as I have already shewn, was made in the reign of the elder Tarquin, and about the year 600 before Christ. This was a double one, an expedition into Italy, and an invasion of Germany¹. And it was clearly after Britain had been peopled by the Gauls. As long as the latter had a vent for their growing numbers into the uninhabited regions of Spain or Britain, they could not have been obliged to turn back upon their progenitors behind them. The great current of European population, which had fallen for ages into the West, could not be compelled to return upon itself, till it had filled the whole extent of its intended channel, and found itself stopt in its progress by insuperable barriers. And the

¹ Livy, l. v. c. 33.

Gauls would not have chosen to enter Italy and invade Germany, where they were sure to encounter opposition, and where their settlements must be precarious from the uncertainty of their success, and exposed to danger from the remoteness of their countrymen; when all the region of Britain, in particular, lay open to them, was ready to receive their colonies, and by its daily appearance to the eye seemed actually to invite them into it. At this period, therefore, the island of Britain was certainly inhabited. And it must have been inhabited long before.

When the Gauls first began to discharge their numbers into Britain, the island would naturally remain the great reservoir of the continent for ages. Gradually as the people multiplied to be troublesome, they would all find a safe and easy conveyance into Britain. And Gaul could not begin to be overburdened with her progeny, till the population of Britain was nearly compleated, till the uninhabited parts of the island were too remote from the continent, or till the islanders were obliged, in their own defence, to forbid any future migrations into the country. This must have been the actual state of population in Britain, for some time before the expeditions of Bellovesus and Sigovesus from Gaul. And fresh colonies, for some time before, had ceased to find their way into Britain. The tribes of Gaul were now pent up within their own continent. And

as the multiplication continued, and all the former resources were exhausted, they were obliged at last to recoil upon the more easterly colonies, to explore an unpractised way over the snows and mountains of the Alps, and to open to themselves a new receptacle among the inhabitants of Italy and Germany. A long time therefore must have elapsed, before the superfluous numbers of Gaul could have filled up the greater part of the island, and have any occasion to prohibit the entrance of more into it. And some time must have intervened before the effect of this prohibition could have appeared upon the continent, and still more, before it could have burst out in the great and necessary migrations into Germany and Italy. Four or five centuries must have passed betwixt the commencement of population in the island, and the æra of those migrations on the continent. And the position is strikingly confirmed to us by the parallel history of Ireland, this island in a later period serving equally as a drain to Britain, and the population of it not being compleated in less than 500 years¹.

This reasoning settles the first inhabitation of Britain about 1000 years before Christ. About 1000 years before Christ it is actually fixed by some of Richard's authorities : A.M. 3000, circa

¹ See History of Manchester, p. 433—437 and 440—442.

hæc tempora cultam & habitam primùm Britanniam arbitrantur nonnulli¹. And about the same period the progress of population, as far as it can be traced in the island, concurs with the argument to settle it². From the one reason it may be concluded, that the island was first inhabited no less than this number of years before the Christian æra. And from the other it appears highly probable, that the island could not have been inhabited many more before it. And the coincidence of two such arguments, that derived from the state of population on the continent, and this deduced from the progress of it in the island, the concurrence of both with the authorities of history, and the convergence of all to one common point of time, give us as much certainty on the subject, as we must ever expect in inquiries of this very remote nature, and fix the first migration of the Gauls into Britain, with as much precision as the difficulties of the question will admit, about a thousand years before the coming of our Saviour, or about the reigns of David and Solomon among the Jews.

¹ P. 50.

² Hist. of Manch. p. 7 and 466.

II.

CONCERNING THE SECOND COLONY
THAT MR. MACPHERSON BRINGS
INTO BRITAIN.

PAG. 10. "The domestic improvements
 " which, in the beginning of their progress
 " in Gaul, enabled the inhabitants of that coun-
 " try to overrun the regions of the West and
 " North, had arrived at some degree of maturity
 " long before the Romans penetrated beyond
 " the Alps. Instead of wandering in search of
 " foreign settlements, the Gauls found it more
 " convenient to cultivate those which they al-
 " ready possessed. The spirit of conquest re-
 " tired further towards the North; and the
 " tide of migration, which had for ages flowed
 " from Gaul, returned upon itself—. The Ger-
 " man Celtæ repassed the Rhine."

The improvements in agriculture are here, and
 in p. 8, said to have consequentially occasioned
 the migrations of the Gauls. But here they are
 equally said to have put an end to them. And the
 same natural cause has two different and contra-

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dictory

dictory effects attributed to it.—The improvements in agriculture are declared to have occasioned migrations in the beginning of their progress, and in their advancement towards maturity to have given an absolute termination to them. And the same natural cause, that in its weaker and commencing operations produced one effect, in its stronger and more perfect influence produced another and the opposite.—All this, I think, is clearly asserted together in the present extract. “The domestic improvements—, in the “beginning of their progress in Gaul, enabled “the inhabitants—to overrun the regions of “the West and North—.” When they “had “arrived at some degree of maturity—, instead “of wandering in search of foreign settlements, “the Gauls found it more convenient to cultivate those which they already possessed.”—Nor is this all the inconsistency, which the extract seems to contain. Those improvements, which in their infant state impelled the Gauls to relinquish their country, in their maturer condition not only induced them to stay at home, but even brought foreign emigrants into the country. “The tide of migration, which had “for ages flowed from Gaul, returned upon it- “self.”

That multiplied population, which was the immediate consequence of the commencing improvements in agriculture, obliged the Gauls to discharge

charge themselves in colonies into the neighbouring countries. And that infinitely greater population, which must have equally resulted from the improvements being more generally diffused, more experimentally known, and considerably heightened in their influence, and must have obliged the Gauls, in an infinitely greater degree, to discharge themselves into the neighbouring regions; this, it seems, did not oblige them at all, this actually prevailed upon them to stay at home, and absolutely invited others into the country. Thus does this lively and valuable writer again seem to be engaged at cross purposes with his own argument.

P. 11—12. “More than three centuries prior
“to the Christian æra, the German Celtæ,
“under the name of Cimbri, ravaged all the
“regions lying between the Rhine and the Ionian
“sea. (*Hæ sunt nationes quæ tam longè ab suis
“sedibus Delphos profectæ sunt. Cicero pro
“Fonteio, xx.*)”

The passage, here cited by Mr. Macpherson, actually stands in a striking opposition to his doctrine. It refers not to the Cimbri, or German Celtæ, at all. It refers solely to the Proper Celtæ, or the natives of Gaul.—Cicero, vindicating the conduct of Fronteius in his go-

vernment of Gaul, *Provinciae Galliae M. Frontei* praeſuit, and, like a mere advocate, catching at the popular prejudices of the Romans, ſays thus of the Gallic tribes. *Hæ ſunt nationes quæ tam longè ab ſuis ſedibus Delphos uſque, ad Apollinem Pythium atque ad oraculum orbis terræ vexandum ac ſpoliandum, profectæ ſunt. Ab iſdem gentibus—obſeſſum eſt Capitolium.* Here we ſee no mention of the Cimbri, and no intimation concerning the German Celtæ. All that is ſaid is ſpoken merely of the real and abſolute Gauls, of thoſe who ſacked Rome as well as plundered Delphi. And Mr. Macpherson's quotation, not only does not prove the ſpirit of conqueſt to have retired from Gaul towards the North, and the German Celtæ to have ravaged all the regions between the Rhine and the Ionian Sea; but actually evinces the contrary, ſhews the ſpirit at this period to have been ſtill very active in Gaul, and appropriates theſe ravages to the Native Celtæ.

P. 28—29. “ The ſpirit of conqueſt paſſing
 “ from the Gauls to the Celto-Germanic colonies
 “ beyond the Rhine, the latter pervaded Europe
 “ with their armies (*Cimbri magnam Europæ nec*
 “ *exiguam Aſiæ partem ſibi tributariam fecere*
 “ *agrosque debellatorum a ſe occuparunt. Diod.*
 “ *Sic. lib. v.).*—The German poſterity of the
 “ Gauls,

“ Gauls, under the name of Cimbri, traversed—
 “ the vast regions between their own country
 “ and the sea of Ionia (*Cimbri contractis undique*
 “ *copiis, ad Ionicum mare conversi, gentem Illy-*
 “ *riorum, et quicquid gentium ad Macedonas*
 “ *usque habitat, imo ipsos Macedonas oppressere.*
 “ *Pauf. Attic. iv.*). About half a century after
 “ the death of Alexander, they poured irresist-
 “ ble armies into Greece, Thrace, and Mace-
 “ donia—(*Gens aspera, audax, bellicosa, domi-*
 “ *tis Pannoniis, et hortante deinde successu, divi-*
 “ *sis agminibus, alii Græciam, alii Macedoniam,*
 “ *omnia ferro proterentes, petivere. Justin. lib.*
 “ *xxiv.*). — Some of them, passing the Propon-
 “ tis, filled the lesser Asia with their colonies
 “ (*Tantæ fœcunditatis juvenus, ut Asiam omnem*
 “ *velut examine aliquo implerent. Justin. lib.*
 “ *xxv.*); and spread the terror of their name far
 “ and wide by the invincible fortune of their arms
 “ (*Tantus terror nominis et armorum invicta feli-*
 “ *citas. Justin. lib. xxv.*). The irruption of the
 “ Cimbri was not merely predatory. They left
 “ colonies in the conquered countries (*Agros de-*
 “ *bellatorum a se occuparunt. Diod. Sic. lib. v.*).”

I have cited this passage immediately after the
 former, that Mr. Macpherson's argument may en-
 joy the full force of the authorities produced in its
 favour. And in both these extracts, by the same
 over-ruling influence, the Germans are regularly

substituted for the Gauls. They were the natives of Gaul, and not the residents of Germany, who more than 300 years prior to the Christian æra, as the preceding passage fixes the time, or about half a century after the death of Alexander, as the present more accurately, though contradictorily, fixes it, ravaged all the country to the sea of Ionia. In the year 279 before Christ, the Gauls sent out three armies, which ravaged Pannonia, Greece, Macedonia, and Asia, plundered or attempted to plunder the temple at Delphi, and settled colonies in some of those countries. And even the authorities, here cited to confine these actions to the Germans, all concur to appropriate them to the Gauls. This must seem very strange. But it is actually true.

Diodorus, speaking expressly of the Gauls, but considering them as extended *ἐξης μέχρι της Σκυθίας*, says thus. *Hi—sunt qui Romam ceperunt. Hi templum in Delphis expilarunt. Hi magnam Europæ partem, &c. Οὗτοι εἰσιν οἱ τὴν μὲν Ρωμὴν ἐλάβοντες, τὸ δὲ ἱερόν το ἐν Δελφοῖς συλησάντες, καὶ πολλὴν μὲν τῆς Ευρώπης, καὶ ὀλίγην δὲ καὶ τῆς Ἀσίας, φορολογήσαντες· οἱ δὲ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐπιπλοκὴν ΕΛΛΗΝΟ-ΓΑΛΑΤΑΙ κληθέντες*¹. Those, therefore, who reduced a considerable part of Europe and no inconsiderable portion of Asia, and settled on the

¹ V. i. p. 354. Wesselingius.

lands of the conquered, were not Cimbri, though Mr. Macpherfon has unwarily interpolated the name in his quotation; were not Germans, as Mr. Macpherfon has arbitrarily interpreted his own inferted name of Cimbri to mean; but were Gauls, the fame that took Rome, the fame that plundered Delphi, and the fame that were denominated Gallo-Græci.

Pausanias in his Attica fays thus. *Galli*—in extremis Europæ oris ad vastum mare accolunt. — Verùm ut *Galli* appellarentur, non nisi ferò ufus obtinuit. *Celtas* enim, quum ipfi se antiquitus, tum alii eos, nominarunt. *Hi* contractis undecunque copiis, ad Ionicum mare converfi, &c. Οἱ δὲ ΓΑΛΑΤΑΙ—νεμονῆαι τῆς Ευρωπῆς τὰ εσχάτα ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ πολλῇ—οἷε δὲ ποτὲ αὐτοὺς καλεῖσθαι ΓΑΛΑΤΑΣ ἐξενίκησε· ΚΕΛΤΟΙ γὰρ καλεῖται σφᾶς το ἀρχαῖον, καὶ πᾶσαι τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὠνομαζόντο. Συλλεγέμεθα δὲ ΣΦΙΣΙ ζεῖναι τρεπεῖσαι τὴν ἐπὶ Ἰονίᾳ, καὶ τὴν Ἰλλυριῶν ἐθνότητα, καὶ πᾶν ὅσον ἀχρι Μακεδονῶν ἦκε, καὶ Μακεδονᾶς αὐτοὺς, ἀναζαῖς ἐποίησε¹. And here Mr. Macpherfon appears in his quotation to have inadvertently dropt the words *Galli* and *Celtæ*, and to have put the word *Cimbri* in their place. Pausanias does not assert the German posterity of the Gauls to have ravaged the country up to the sea of Ionia. And Pausanias does not assert any nation to have committed these ravages under the name of *Cimbri*. He

¹ P. 10. Lipsiæ, 1696.

10. THE GENUINE HISTORY OF

declares the Gauls, and the Gauls only, to have made this expedition. And he declares them to have passed under their own indigenous denominations of Galli and Celtæ.

Justin is the other author here quoted. And he is still more expressly against the purpose for which Mr. Macpherson has produced him. He says thus. *Galli*, abundanti multitudine, *cum eos non caperent terræ quæ genuerant*, ad sedes novas quærendas velut ver sacrum miserunt. *Ex his portio in Italiâ confedit, quæ et Urbem Romanam captam incendit*, et portio Illyricos sinus—per strages barbarorum penetravit, & in Pannoniâ confedit; gens aspera, audax, bellicosa—. Hortante deinde successu, divisis agminibus, alii Græciam, alii Macedoniam, omnia ferro proterentes, petivere. Tantusque terror *Gallici* nominis erat, ut — solus rex Macedoniæ Ptolemæus adventum *Gallorum* intrepidus audivit. — Igitur *Galli*, duce Belgio, attacked and defeated Ptolemy. — Interea Brennus, quo duce portio *Gallorum* in Græciam se effuderat, auditâ victoriâ suorum qui Belgio duce Macedonas vicerant,—Delphos iter vertit¹. And in another place Justin says thus. *Gallorum* eâ tempestate tantæ fœcunditatis juvenus fuit, ut Asiam omnem velut examine aliquo implerent. Denique, neque reges Orientis sine mercenario *Gallorum* exercitu ulla bella gesserunt, neque,

¹ L. xxiv. c. 4, 5, 6.

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pulsi regno, ad alios quam ad *Gallos* confugerunt. Tantus terror *Gallici* nominis et armorum invicta felicitas¹. And here, in the same strain of inadvertency that is noticed before, Mr. Macpherson appears to have left out the word *Gallorum* in one of his quotations and *Gallici* in another, and to have applied all three in direct opposition to the express and repeated meaning of the whole. The armies which Justin here describes as pouring into Thrace, Greece, and Macedonia, he does not assert to have been Germans, and he does not affirm to have been denominated Cimbri. He explicitly declares them to have been Gauls. He directly derives them from their native country of Gaul. And he repeatedly makes them to have been a part of that national body, which took the city of Rome, and marched to plunder the temple of Delphi.

Each of these long extracts reflects a light upon the other. And from the united lustre of all we may clearly see, that Mr. Macpherson has been strangely led away by his own prejudices, has pressed into his cause arguments that are all in a natural combination against him, and, in a spirit of involuntary piracy, is even fighting under false colours. The total omission of some expressions that must have disproved the application of the passages, the careful discharge of

¹ L, xxv, c. 2.

all hostile words from the quotations, and the officious interpolation of friendly in their room, facts that appear evident upon the face of the extracts above, certainly give an unhappy aspect of dissingenuousness to the whole, and may seem to discredit the integrity and honour of Mr. Macpherson. But any one that has felt in his own breast the prevailing bias of either systematical or national prejudices, and can therefore make the proper allowance for the force of both together, will easily acquit him of any intentional frauds, and will refer all to its immediate cause, to prepossessions which have enslaved the strongest intellects, and to weaknesses which are the groundwork of all the patriot virtues.

P. 10—12. “The German Celtæ (Celtæ five
 “Galli quos Cimbros vocant. Appian. in Il-
 “lyr.—) repassed the Rhine, committed terrible
 “devastations, and — extended their conquests
 “to Spain—. The Lusitanians, according to
 “Diodorus Siculus, were the most warlike branch
 “of the Cimbri (αλκιμωτατοι μεν ειναι οι κατασμενοι
 “Λυσιτανοι. Diod. Sic. lib. v.).”

Here we meet with the same strain of false quotation, as we have already remarked in the preceding articles. — The passage in Appian, which is here applied to the German Celtæ, belongs to the Native Gauls in the original. Eodem
 [Autarios]

[Autarios] *Celtasque*, quos Cimbros vocant, *ad Delphos posuisse castra*: αὐτὰς δὲ ΚΕΛΤΟΙΣ, τοῖς Κιμβροῖς λεγομένοις, ΕΠΙ ΔΕΛΦΟΙΣ ΣΤΣΤΡΑΤΕΥΣΑΙ[†]. The Gauls, we see, who are said to have been denominated Cimbri, were actually Proper Celtæ, and were absolutely the very Gauls that encamped against the temple of Delphi.—And the passage here cited from Diodorus, to prove the Lusitanians a branch of the Cimbri, is equally cited by Mr. Macpherson only four pages before, to prove them a branch of the Galli, and has actually no reference to either. This is as astonishing, as it is evident. Speaking of the migrations of the Galli, or Proper Celtæ, in p. 6—10, and of the much later migrations of the Cimbri, or German Celtæ, in p. 10—12, Mr. Macpherson in p. 8 asserts Spain to have been filled with a colony from Gaul, as he here asserts it to have received another from Germany, and actually brings the same passage of history as a proof of both. When he is to evince the Cimbric or Celto-Germanic settlement from it, as here and in p. 30, he quotes it thus, ἀλκιμωτάτοι μὲν εἰσι οἱ καλεσμένοι Λυσίταινοι, and, *omnium Cimbrorum fortissimi sunt Lusitani*. But when he is to prove the Gallic, he cites it thus, ἀλκιμωτάτοι μὲν ΤΩΝ ΓΑΛΑΤΩΝ οἱ καλεσμένοι Λυσίταινοι. Mr. Macpherson's prejudices and inadvertency throw any colour over the passage, which the nature

[†] P. 1106. Amstel. 1670.

of the present argument calls for. The same portion of history is adduced by him, and once only within four pages, to prove two absolutely opposite points. It is cited three times; and the principal word in the original, which would have vindicated the passage from the misapplication, is studiously omitted every time. And the main essential words are twice interpolated, and are both times different. The passage, in short, that has been thus applied to the Galli and Cimbri, has not the least connexion with either. It refers only to the Iberes: ΤΩΝ ΔΕ ΙΒΗΡΩΝ αλκιμωτατοι μεν εισιν οι καλυμμενοι Λυσίτανοι, says Diodorus¹, all along distinguishing the Iberes from the Celtæ. And, to compleat this group of inaccuracies and contradictions, this very part of Diodorus's history is referred to by Mr. Macpherson in p. 85 and 86, as containing an "express testimony" that the Iberians were a "different people" from the Celtæ.

P. 10—12. "The German Celtæ (—Ιππευς δε Γαλατίας το γενος, η Κιμβρις. Plutarch in Mario.) repassed the Rhine, committed terrible devastations, and acquired a just title to the name of Cimbri, which signifies a band of robbers (Κιμβρις επονομαζεται Γερμανοι της λησας. Plutarch in Mario.)²."

¹ P. 357. v. 1.

² So Dr. Macpherson interprets Cimbri, Robbers, and from the same incompetent authority, p. 112.

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This irruption of the German Celtæ is fixed, as I have noted before, more than three centuries prior to the Christian æra in p. 11; and in p. 28, about half a century after the death of Alexander, or about the year 273 before Christ. But, as a proof of the fact, Mr. Macpherson quotes the well-known passage of Plutarch, that relates the story of a Gallic or Cimbric horseman being sent to murder Marius in the prison of Minturnæ, and dropping his sword with terror at the appearance, address, and name of a man, that had made himself so formidable to his countrymen. *Ἰππεύς—Γαλαῖης τὸ γενεῶν, ἢ Κιμβρῶν, ἀμφοτέρως γὰρ ἰσoreῖται*¹. And Valerius Maximus in his account of this incident says thus: *Missus ad Marium occidendum in privatâ domo Minturnis clausum, servus publicus, natione Cimber, et senem et inermem et squalore oblitum, strictum gladium tenens, aggredi non sustinuit, sed claritate viri obcæcatus, abjecto ferro, attonitus inde ac tremens fugit. Cimbrica nimirum calamitas oculos hominis perstrinxit, devictæque suæ gentis interitus animum comminuit: etiam Diis immortalibus indignum ratis, ab uno ejus Nationis interfici Marium, quam totam deleverat*². This passage, therefore, evidently relates to that incursion of the Cimbri, which happened near two centuries after either period, which was

¹ V. II. p. 532. Bryan.

² L. ii. c. 10. § 6. Delphin.

made across the Rhine about 112, and was terminated by Marius about 101, before the Christian æra.

And the intimation here given, that the German Celtæ acquired the name of Cimbri after they had passed the Rhine, and after they had committed terrible devastations in Gaul, appeals for its authority to another passage of Plutarch, which says not, that the name was given on the Gallic side of the Rhine, but on the German, which says not, that the Gauls conferred the appellation upon them, but that the Germans usually called a robber a Cimber. So much is the proof in opposition to the point!

P. 28—29. “ The German posterity of the
 “ Gauls, under the name of Cimbri,—cut to
 “ pieces all the intermediate nations between
 “ their original seats and the Hellespont (Ex-
 “ torres inopiâ agrorum, profecti domo, per as-
 “ perrimam Illyrici oram, Pæoniam inde et
 “ Thraciam, pugnando cum ferocissimis genti-
 “ bus, mensi has terras ceperunt. Livius, lib.
 “ xxxviii.).”

I have produced this passage again with the new quotation annexed to it, to point out another instance of the inaccuracy which runs through the present work.—In p. 24 we are told,

told, that “the Gael of the continent extended
 “their name with their arms into all the regions
 “of Europe;” and we have this quotation to
 confirm it, “*Ferox natio Gallorum pervagata
 “bello prope orbem terrarum. Livius, lib.
 “xxxviii.*” The former citation is brought to
 prove the irruptions of the Cimbri or German
 Celtæ, in opposition to the Gael or Native Celtæ.
 The latter is produced to prove the irruptions
 of the Gael or Native Celtæ, in contradistinction
 to the Cimbri or German Celtæ. And yet the
 two passages, that are thus applied to two dif-
 ferent nations, are actually parts of one and the
 same account, and are directly spoken of one
 and the same people. The whole passage runs
 thus. Manlius in *Gallo-Græciâ* bellum gessit—
Hi Galli,—seu inopiâ agri seu prædæ spe, nul-
 lam gentium, per quas ituri essent, parem rati,
 Brenno duce in Dardanos pervenerunt—.Non
 me præterit, Milites, says Manlius to his sol-
 diery, omnium quæ Asiam colunt gentium *Gallos*
 famâ belli præstare. Inter mitissimum genus ho-
 minum ferox natio, pervagata bello propè orbem
 terrarum, sedem cepit.—Semel primo congressu
ad Alliam olim fuderunt majores nostros: ex eo
 tempore per ducentos jam annos, pecorum in
 modum, consternatos cædunt fugantque—. Et
 illis majoribus nostris cum *haud dubiis Gallis in*
terrâ suâ genitis res erat. Hi jam degeneres sunt,
 mixti, et *Gallo-Græci* verè, quod appellantur.—

Extorres

Extorres inopiâ agrorum, profecti domo, per asperrimam Illyrici oram, Pæoniam inde et Thraciam, pugnando cum ferocissimis gentibus, emensi, has terras ceperunt. But now mansuefacta est feritas¹. What Mr. Macpherson has given in one place to the Native Gauls, and in another to the German Celtæ, relates only to the former, we see. And the inconsistency in the application is a remarkable instance of inattention in the author.

P. 10—12. “The German Celtæ (Celtæ five
 “Galli quos Cimbros vocant. Appian. in Illyr.
 “Ἰππεὺς δὲ Γαλαλῆς το γένος, ἡ Κιμβροῖς. Plutarch
 “in Mario.) repassed the Rhine,—acquired a
 “just title to the name of Cimbri, which signifies
 “a band of robbers (Κιμβροὺς ἐπονομαζοῦσι Γερμανοὶ
 “τὰς ληΐας. Plutarch in Mario. ληστρικοὶ οὐλῆς
 “καὶ πλοῦντες οἱ Κιμβροί.. Strabo, lib. vii.)—,
 “and,—more than three centuries prior to the
 “Christian æra,—extended their conquests to—
 “Great Britain.—And the Welsh retain, in
 “their name, an undoubted mark of their Cim-
 “bric extraction.”

And in p. 30 thus—“When some of the
 “Cimbri appeared on the frontiers of Greece,
 “others drove the ancient Gael from the Belgic

¹ C. 12. 16, and 17.

“division

“ division of Gaul—(reperiebat Cæsar Belgas
 “ esse ortos ab Germanis Rhenum antiquitus
 “ transductos, propter loci fertilitatem ibi con-
 “ sedisse ; Gallosque qui ea loca incolerent, ex-
 “ pulisse. Cæsar, lib. ii.).”

I have brought these two passages together, in order to exhibit by both the whole of Mr. Macpherson's assertions and authorities upon this subject. He frequently goes over the same points again in the progress of his disquisition, and very strangely neglects to give authorities for his assertions in the first instance, but produces them in the second. And the three great particulars contained in the extracts are these ; That the German Celtæ repassed the Rhine more than 300 or (p. 28) about 270 years before Christ ; That the name of Cimbri was peculiarly given on occasion of this expedition into Gaul ; and, That Cymri, the indigenous appellation of the Welsh at present, is a full proof of the German Celtæ having passed over in a large colony into Britain. Each shall be the subject of a distinct paragraph.

That the German Celtæ repassed the Rhine into Gaul at the one or the other of the periods mentioned above, is the first point in Mr. Macpherson's deduction of his second colony into Britain. It was this which gave the first motion to the great mass of matter on the continent, and occasioned those vibrations that were so fen-

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sibly

sibly felt into the island. And yet, by a strange unhappiness, the alledged fact does not carry the smallest appearance of a proof where it is first mentioned, and carries only the appearance of one where it is mentioned again. The four first quotations are not intended to authenticate the fact at all. Two of them only assert the Gauls to have been denominated Cimbri, and the others only intimate the Cimbri of Germany to have been actually robbers. But none of the four, in the least, asserts the remigration of the German Celtæ into Gaul at this period. And in p. 30 the only authority for the fact is the passage from Cæsar, which runs thus in the original: *Reperiebat plerisque Belgas esse ortos a Germanis; Rhenumque antiquitus transductos, propter loci fertilitatem ibi consedisse; Gallosque qui ea loca incolerent expulisse.* But this is no proof, any more than the quotations before, that the German Celtæ repassed the Rhine at this period under the name of Cimbri. It shews not the Belgæ to have been German Celtæ at all. It shews not the Belgæ to have been ever denominated Cimbri. And it shews them not to have repassed the Rhine either 300 or 270 years before Christ. The Belgæ indeed crossed the Rhine into Gaul many years before either of these periods, since they penetrated into Britain, as I shall prove hereafter, no less than 350 years before Christ. And they certainly, were not
 the

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the people, that Mr. Macpherson here intimates them to have been; and that they must have been if they were the same with his Cimbri. The Belgæ never "ravaged all the regions lying between the Rhine and the Ionian sea," never "poured irresistible armies into Greece, Thrace, and Macedonia," never cut to pieces "all the intermediate nations between their original seats and the Hellespont," never "filled the lesser Asia with their colonies," and never "extended their conquests into Spain." These magnificent actions are attributed before to the German Celtæ in general, under the name of Cimbri. They are now attributed to that body of the Germans which was particularly denominated Belgæ. And I have previously demonstrated that they belonged to neither, but were wholly the exploits of the Native Gauls or Proper Celtæ.

Nor was the name of Cimbri given to the Belgæ, on occasion of their expedition back into Gaul. That they ever bore the appellation, has not yet been proved by Mr. Macpherson. And it was never the mere, appropriated, title of the German Celtæ, or of any division of them. It was the general and common denomination of the whole collective body of the Celtæ. And such it appears very early on the continent. The natives and residents of Gaul, that I have previously shewn to

have broke into Greece, to have attacked Delphi, and to have ravaged Asia, these appear to have been denominated equally Galli, Celtæ, Cimmerii, or Cimbri. The Celtæ, who are called Cimbri, says Appian, encamped against Delphi: Κελτοίς, τοῖς λεγόμενοις Κιμβροῖς, ἐπὶ Δελφοῖς συστράψασαι ¹. Speaking of the Teutones and Cimbri, Plutarch says that the Cimmerii were first known to the Greeks in former ages, Κιμμερίων το μὲν παρῶν ὑφ' Ἑλλήνων τῶν παλαι γνωσθέντων ². The Gauls, says Diodorus, who in antient times overran all Asia, were denominated Cimmerii: ἐν τοῖς παλαιοῖς χρόνοις τῆς Ἀσίας ἀπασαν κατὰδραμονίας, ὀνομαζόμενος δὲ Κιμμερίης ³. And the Galatæ of the Greeks, says Josephus, were formerly called Gomarians; τῆς μὲν νῦν ὑφ' Ἑλλήνων Γαλατίας καλεσμένους, Γομαρεῖς λεγομένους ⁴. The Celtæ of Germany therefore must, equally with the Celtæ of Greece and Asia, have carried the name into all the countries that they conquered. And it was not any appropriated distinction of the Celtæ in Germany or Greece

¹ P. 1196. Amstel.

² Vol. ii. p. 495. Bryan.

³ P. 355.

⁴ Ant. lib. i. c. 7. And, in confirmation of this passage of Josephus, Mr. Pezron has very justly remarked, that several others of the antients have asserted the same, Eustathius of Antioch in his, Γαμερ ὅς τις Γαμαρεῖς, τῆς νῦν Γαλατίας, συνεστήσεν—Jerom in his, Sunt autem Gomer, Galatæ—and Isidore in his Gomer. ex quo Galatæ, id est, Galli.

from

from the Celtæ in Gaul. It was the standing signature of the original derivation of both from the stock of the Cimmerii in Gaul. And it was obviously the first and original characteristic of that great national family, which was afterwards denominated Galli and Celtæ. Distinguished by the epithets of Galli and Celtæ from their mode and manner of living, as I shall shew hereafter; they must naturally have been distinguished before by some primæval and family appellation, by something that carried the note of their descent from the great patriarch of their line. And such appears to be the name of Cimmerii. Variouslly written Cimbri, Cimmerii, Cumri, Gumri, and Gomerite, it bears all the marks of an original and hereditary signature, and points fully, as it is expressly referred by history¹, to the patriarch Gomer.—The name therefore did not commence about three centuries before Christ. It had been a name for ages before that period. The denomination was not given to the German Celtæ by the Gauls, for their re-entrance into Gaul at that period, and as a mark of ignominy for their devastations in it. It was at that time the hereditary denomination of the Gauls themselves. And the appellation was not borne by the Belgæ, or any or all of the German

¹ Josephus Ant. lib. i. c. 7. And the name is frequently written Gumri by the Welsh at present, as the Sicambri of Germany are called Sigambri by Cæsar.

Celtæ, as the appropriated name of the Germans; because it was borne equally by the Gauls of Greece, the Gauls of Macedonia, and the Gauls of Asia, and was the one comprehensive title of all.

This directly accounts for the discovery of the same name in Britain, without calling in the extravagant and unwarranted supposition, that the Celtæ of North-Germany settled in the island. That this supposition is void of any support in history, is obvious from the management of Mr. Macpherson himself, who grounds it only on the name. "The Welsh," he says p. 12, "retain in their name an undoubted mark of their 'Cimbric extraction.'" "In Britain," he says p. 30, "their very name remains, with their 'blood, in the Cimbri of Wales.'" But I have already shewn the name to have not been the appropriated appellation of the German Celtæ, but the one universal title of the Gallic, the German, the Græcian, and the Asiatic Gauls. The fixed indigenous denomination of the Gauls at home, it was carried with their colonies into the East, into Germany, and into Britain. And the fixed indigenous appellation of the Gauls abroad, it was retained by them, equally as the general title of all and the particular designation of some. Thus one third of the Gael on the continent was particularly denominated Galli, and one third of the Celtæ in Gaul was distinctively denominated

nominated Celtæ, in the days of Cæsar ¹. And the Gauls of Asia Minor were called Cimmericians, or Gomerites, in the days of Josephus ². Thus, when all the German Celtæ were denominated Cimbri or Cambri, there was a nation of Si-Cambri upon the banks of the Rhine, and a tribe of Cimbri within the peninsula of Jutland ³. And the common appellation of all the tribes of Britain, is still retained by the descendants of three of them in Wales. The Welsh therefore preserve no mark of their extraction from the German Celtæ, in their present denomination of Cymri. It is the sign only of their original derivation from the Cimmerii of Gaul. And Mr. Macpherson's whole scheme, of a Cimbric or Celto-Germanic establishment in the island, appears to be entirely hypothetical and groundless.

P. 12—13. “The first irruption of the nations
 “of the Northern Germany happened, as we
 “have already observed, more than three cen-
 “turies before the commencement of our present
 “æra. About two ages after, the Celtæ beyond
 “the Rhine threw another fleece of adventurers,

¹ P. 1. Clarke, Glasgow. ² Ant. lib. i. c. 7.

³ History of Manchester, p. 427.

“ under the name of Cimbri, into the regions of
 “ the South (Sexcentefimum & quadragesimum
 “ annum urbs nostra agebat cùm Cimbrorum
 “ audita sunt arma. Tacit. Germ. 37.).”

I have produced this extract, merely to point out how unfriendly and hostile Mr. Macpherson's own quotations would be to his system, if they were not a little garbled by him. — Of the two irruptions here asserted, the authority adduced for the latter entirely precludes the former. The passage is crippled in the extract. In the original it runs thus. Proximi Oceano Cimbri, parva nunc civitas, sed gloria ingens—. Sexcentefimum & quadragesimum annum urbs nostra agebat, cùm *primum* Cimbrorum audita sunt arma. This therefore was the first irruption of the Cimbri into the South of Europe. And Mr. Macpherson's own quotation, when it is restored to its original perfection, expressly declares it to have been the first.

THESE are all the parts of our author's great argument, in favour of a German-Celtic colony settling in the island. And every part, we see, asserts some fact that is not true, or deduces

duces some reasoning that is not just. The whole therefore is one system of Error. And the existence of a second colony in Britain, as distinct from the Gael of the first and the Belgæ of the third, appears to be totally ungrounded. In all the arguments but one, Mr. Macpherson has confounded the German with the Proper Celtæ, though the very scope and purpose of his arguments necessarily led him to distinguish accurately between them. And in that he has confounded the Cimbri with the Belgæ. Having accompanied the German Celtæ, or the Cimbri, in all their imaginary expeditions across the continent of Europe, we find them at last dwindled down into the Belgæ, who had never been mentioned before, and to whom the preceding quotations, even as interpolated and garbled by Mr. Macpherson's own inadvertency and prejudice, have not the smallest reference. Having through various pages engaged the Germans in incursions which they never made, and in ravages which they never committed, Mr. Macpherson at last attributes them to a small body of the Germans, the Belgæ, whose only incursion was from the German to the Gallic side of the Rhine, and whose only ravages were confined to a corner of Gaul. And the whole account, as the reader must already have observed, is supported by a train of the most

most extraordinary inaccuracies, involuntary misquotations, unintended perversions, and mistaken reasonings, that perhaps ever occurred within so short a compass, in the writings of a man of learning, taste, and discernment.

III.

CONCERNING THE THIRD COLONY THAT MR. MACPHERSON BRINGS INTO BRI- TAIN.

PAG. 31. "The Cimbri who remained in
" Gaul became [came] afterwards [after
" the passage of others into Britain] to be distin-
" guished by the name of Belgæ. As that ap-
" pellation carries reproach in its meaning, it is
" likely that it was imposed on that warlike
" nation by the Gael whom they had expelled
" from

“ from their territories. Balge or Balgen, in
 “ the ancient Celtic signifies a spotted or party-
 “ coloured herd, and, in a metaphorical sense,
 “ a mixed people, or an aggregate of many
 “ tribes. The name alludes either to Belgium’s
 “ being peopled promiscuously by the German
 “ tribes, or to the unavoidable mixture of the
 “ Celtic colonies beyond the Rhine with the
 “ Sarmatæ of the East and North.”

We are told before, in p. 10, “ that the German
 “ Celtæ re-passed the Rhine, committed terrible
 “ devastations, and acquired a just title to the
 “ name of Cimbri, which signifies a band of
 “ robbers.” And we are here told, that the
 Cimbri were distinguished in Gaul by the name
 of Belgæ. The Gael, that had been expelled
 from their own territories, must have been the
 persons that gave them the appellation of Cimbri
 or Robbers. And yet they are here represented
 as giving them the name of Belgæ. The former
 was a strong brand upon their national character,
 and a lively mark of the resentment of the in-
 jured Gael. And yet it is here supposed to have
 been superseded, soon afterwards, by a title from
 the same injured people, that carries little or no
 reproach with it. — But this derivation of the
 names of Cimbri and Belgæ is all as imaginary,
 as the resting a momentous point of history
 upon such precarious deductions is weak and
 trifling. The German Celtæ, as I have shewed
 7 before,

before, must necessarily have carried the name of Cimbri with them across the Rhine into Germany, and have brought it with them into Gaul again. And the name of Belgæ appears not to have been given in Gaul, and seems to have been borne in Germany. Cæsar says, *plerosque Belgas esse ortos a Germanis, Rhenumque antiquitus transductos—ibi confedisse, Gallosque—expulisse*: where we have not the least intimation of any change in the name upon their passing into Gaul, and where they seem to have borne the same appellation on the German as on the Gallic side of the Rhine. And, wherever it was given or assumed, it was certainly no title of reproach, because the Belgæ appear universally acknowledging it for their own on the continent, in Britain, and in Ireland. This therefore entirely sets aside the indistinct and forced etymology of Mr. Macpherson, because it carries a reproach in its meaning. And the name must be derived from some principle of distinction, that was admitted by the Belgæ as well as their neighbours, and will adapt itself to their condition either in Germany or Gaul. The Belgæ pretty certainly lived, before their migration into Gaul, immediately on the German side of the Rhine. And as they and their neighbours were all equally Celtic¹, the name

¹ See hereafter for the Belgæ.

was derived from the Celtic language. They were a large association of tribes in Gaul, and must therefore have been the same in Germany¹. They had seized no less than one third of all Gaul²: And they must therefore have been very considerable for their power in Germany. And the name of Belg seems to have been highly characteristic of their greatness, as Balc in Irish signifies Strong or Mighty. This Etymon at least does not, like Mr. Macpherson's, violate any proprieties of criticism. It confronts no evidence of records. And it is not made either the buttress or basis of any visionary system in history.

P. 32—33. "The Celto-Germanic tribes, who
 " had driven the old Gael from Belgium, settling
 " in that division of Gaul, rose, in process of
 " time, into a variety of petty states. Each of
 " these, some time before the arrival of Cæsar,
 " sent colonies into Britain.—It is difficult to
 " ascertain the æra of this third migration from
 " the continent."

The Belgæ are asserted by Mr. Macpherson to have made two migrations into Britain, and to have settled two colonies in the island, one

¹ Cæsar, p. 34.

² Cæsar, p. 1.

under the name of Cimbri, and the other under the appellation of Belgæ. The existence of the former incident I have already demonstrated to be merely visionary. But the latter is real. Mr. Macpherson however, in dividing one migration and one colony into two, has even thrown an air of fiction and falsity over the truth.

As the Belgæ were broken into various tribes when they crossed the Rhine, they must already have formed a variety of petty states. And this is confirmed by Cæsar's account of them. When he enquired of the Rhemi concerning their neighbours the Belgæ, *quæ civitates, quantæque in armis essent, et quid in bello possent, sic reperiēbat, plerosque Belgas esse ortos a Germanis*, that most of their civitates or tribes were derived from Germany, the Bellovaci, the Sueffiones, the Nervii, and the Atrebatēs, the Ambiani, the Morini, the Menapii, and the Calètes, the Velocasses, the Veromandui, and the Atuatici; and that the other states were native Germans, Condrusos, Eburones, Cæraefos, Pæmanos, *qui uno nomine Germani appellantur*¹. There was no need therefore of any interval of time after the invasion of Gaul by the Belgæ, to reduce them into various states. Already reduced, they therefore ranged as distinct tribes in Germany, and therefore settled as distinct

¹ P. 33 and 34.

communities in Gaul. Nor did each of these send colonies into Britain. The number of Belgic communities in Gaul was 12. And the number of Belgic colonies in Britain was only 5. These were the Cantii of Kent, the Regni of Suffex, the Proper Belgæ of Hampshire and Wiltshire, the Durotriges of Dorsetshire, and the Damnonii of Devonshire. And these afterwards planted a new colony, under the name of Trinovantes, in the counties of Middlesex and Essex.

P. 33. "It is difficult to ascertain the æra of this third migration from the continent. We ought to place it perhaps half a century prior to the arrival of Cæsar. Divitiacus, King of the Sueffiones, who flourished before that great commander, may probably have transplanted from Gaul those tribes in Britain over whom he reigned."

When the Belgæ made their imaginary migration into Britain under the name of Cimbri, about three centuries before Christ, they are supposed to have passed over into the island immediately after their arrival in Gaul. "Def-crying, from their new settlements, the island of Britain, they passed the narrow channel which divides it from the continent." Their

P. 30.

second

second migration into Britain, under the name of Belgæ, is pushed two centuries lower, in order to make it distinct and separate from the other. But, as they only made one of these expeditions into the island, so this was begun as early as $3\frac{1}{2}$ centuries before Christ. That invaluable collector of antient notices, Richard of Cirencester, here throws a remarkable light upon the dark period of the British history. A. M. 3650. *Has terras intrârunt Belgæ, and, Ejecti a Belgis Britones* ¹. And the Belgæ were certainly not transplanted by Divitiacus into Britain. They had been settled about 250 years in the island, when Divitiacus came over into it. *Apud Sueffiones, says Cæsar, fuisse regem nostrâ etiam memoriâ Divitiacum, totius Galliæ potentissimum, qui, quum magnæ partis harum regionum, tum etiam Britanniae, imperium obtinuerit* ². He acquired the sovereignty of the continental and island Belgæ. And, bringing over a large reinforcement of the former, he enabled the latter to extend their possessions into the interior regions of the country. *Cum exercitu in hoc regnum transiit Rex Æduorum [Sueffionum] Divitiacus, magnamque ejus partem subegit* ³. The possessions of the Belgæ, before the coming of Divitiacus, in all probability ex-

¹ P. 50.² P. 34.³ P. 50.

tended,

tended, as I have shewn already in the History of Manchester, over Kent and a small part of Middlesex, over Suffex and the greatest part of Hampshire and Wiltshire, over Dorsetshire, Devonshire, and a part of Cornwall. And he subdued the rest of Middlesex and all Essex, all Surrey, the rest of Hampshire, and the adjoining parts of Berkshire, the rest of Wiltshire, the remainder of Cornwall, all Somersetshire, and the South-West of Gloucestershire¹.—The æra of the Belgic migration into Britain then is here ascertained, and shewn to have been, not “half a century,” but three centuries, “prior to the arrival of Cæsar.” And Divitiacus is shewn not to “have transplanted from Gaul those tribes in Britain over whom he reigned,” but only to have brought over an army, and to have only made some additions to the previous possessions of the Belgæ.

THIS is the short sum of Mr. Macpherson’s argument for a third colony in Britain. As the proof of a Belgic establishment in the island, the ar-

¹ History of Manchester, p. 60—61, and 412—413.

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gument carries every conviction with it. But as the proof of a third colony, as an evidence that the Belgæ first settled in Britain under their own name about a century only before Christ, it is equally erroneous and trifling.

CHAP.

C H A P. II.

THU S far I have attended minutely to the motions of Mr. Macpherson's Celtæ on the continent. I have demonstrated his account of them, I think, to be one gross perversion of the real history. And I shall now follow him into the island. By disproving the incidents and reasonings, from which he deduces the origin of three colonies in Britain, I have disproved the existence of them already. But I shall still pursue him through all his reasonings and facts in the island, and endeavour to unravel the one and overthrow the other, with the same respect to Mr. Macpherson, and with the same fidelity to truth.

I.

CONCERNING THE POSITION, MANNERS,
AND TRANSACTIONS OF MR. MAC-
PHERSON'S THREE COLONIES IN BRI-
TAIN.

PAG. 32. "When the Romans carried their
" arms into Britain, the whole island was
" possessed by three nations sprung originally,
" though at very different periods, from the Gael
" of the continent."

Let us examine this position by the account of
him, who was the first Roman that carried his
arms into Britain, and is the most accurate dis-
tinguisher of the general divisions of the Britons.
*Britanniæ pars interior, he says, ab iis incolitur, quos natos in insulâ ipsâ memoriâ proditum dicunt: maritima pars ab iis qui — ex Belgis transferant*¹. And here we see the island, not
partitioned, like Gaul, into three divisions, but

¹ Cæsar, p. 88.

broken only into two. We see the islanders, not divided, as Mr. Macpherson has divided them, into Gael, Cimbri, and Belgæ; but distinguished merely into Belgæ and Aborigines. The former were known to have passed lately and recently from the continent, in comparison with the latter, though they came 300 years before Cæsar. And the latter had been all of them many ages before, all of them immemorially, settled in the island. The assertion of Mr. Macpherson, therefore, is directly in the face of history. And, when the Romans carried their arms into Britain, the whole country was possessed only by two great divisions of people.

—“The Cimbri,—retiring from the pressure
“of these new invaders [the Belgæ], possessed
“the country to the West of the Severne,
“and that which extended from the Humber to
“the Tweed. The Gael, under the general
“name of Caledonians, inhabited the rest of the
“island to the extremity of the North.”

The whole southern region of the island, from the British Channel to the Humber and from the Severne to the German ocean, is here consigned over to the Belgæ. And this is done, equally without any pretence of authority, and in direct opposition to proof. Any person, that has the least acquaintance with the interior disposition of the island in the time of the Britons, must know

this to be utterly false. Cæsar, as I have quoted him immediately above, expressly asserts the Belgæ to have been confined to the southern coast. *Britanniæ pars interior ab iis quos natos in insulâ ipsâ memoriâ proditum dicunt: Maritima pars ab iis qui—ex Belgis transferant.* And so far were the Belgæ from advancing their possessions up to the Humber, that they actually carried them very little beyond the Thames¹. Thus unhappy is Mr. Macpherson in every step that he takes, on his entrance upon the Interior History of Britain.

P. 33—34. "This superior civilization [of the Belgæ] rendered them objects of depredation to the Cimbri—. They made frequent incursions into the Belgic dominions; and it was from that circumstance that the Cimbri beyond the Humber derived their name of Brigantes, which signifies a race of freebooters and plunderers (On lui donna ce nom à cause des pillages qu'il faisoit sur les terres de ses voisins. **BRIGAND** ou **BRIGANT**, Brigand, Pillard, Voleur de Grand-Chemin. *Bullet Memoires sur la lang. Celt. tom. i.*)."².

¹ See History of Manchester, p. 412—413.

² So in Dr. Macpherson the Brigantes are interpreted Robbers, p. 112.

The only reason, for Mr. Macpherson's fixing the Cimbri between the Humber and Tweed, as well as in Wales, was obviously the antient and present appellation of Cumberland in one part of it. And the only ground for his asserting the incursions of the Cimbri into the dominions of the Belgæ, was the appellation of Brigantes in another. Upon such slight springs does the vast machine of this history move. But, as the Belgæ never extended their possessions to the Humber, the Cimbri beyond it could not possibly make incursions into them. And, even if they could, since those invasions were made equally by their brethren of Wales as by them, their brethren must equally with them have obtained the opprobrious appellation of Brigantes.

But the Brigantes were not denominated at all from any incursions to the South of the Humber. They made none that appear in history. Able as we are to discover their expeditions into Lancashire, Westmoreland, Cumberland, Anandale, and Cheshire¹, we have not one trace of any into the counties of Lincoln and Nottingham. And the name was not peculiar to the Britons of Yorkshire and Durham. It was equally the name of some of the Celtic settlers on the Alps², of

¹ History of Manchester, p. 8. and 104—105.

² Strabo, p. 316. Amstel. And see p. 190 also.

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some of Mr. Macpherson's Belgæ to the South of the Humber, and of all Mr. Macpherson's Gael to the North of the Tweed. Galgacus, a native Briton, calls the Iceni, the Trinovantes, and the Cassii, all that united in the great revolt under Boadicea, by the general name of Brigantes: Brigantes, feminâ duce, exurere coloniam, expugnare castra, &c.¹ And Pausanias, speaking of the whole body of the Caledonians, equally calls them all Brigantes².

This name then could not be given to the Britons of Yorkshire, because of their frequent incursions to the South of the Humber. They made none. And the name was given equally to others, and even to Mr. Macpherson's own plundered Belgæ. It was, in truth, the general appellation of the tribes of Britain. The name of Cymri was brought with the first colonists into the island, the hereditary appellation of their ancestors on the continent. But the name of Brigantes was conferred upon them in consequence of their passage into it, and was the natural signature of their separation from their brethren in Gaul³. And it was therefore the equal appellation of those Celtæ, who had migrated from the rest by crossing the channel

¹ Agric. Vit. c. 31.

² History of Manchester, p. 9—10. and 454.

³ History of Manchester, p. 9—10.

into

into Britain, and of those who had sequestered themselves from the rest among the mountains and vallies of the Alps. Nor was it confined to the Aborigines of the island. It was extended equally to the communities of the Belgæ within it. The Belgic Trinovantes are included by Galgacus, together with the Iceni and Cassii, under the general designation of Brigantes. And all the tribes of the Belgæ in Britain were therefore expressly denominated, as a nation on the continent, that was inclosed on three sides from the rest of the Gauls by the Soane and the Rhone, equally was, the Allo-Brog-es, or the sequestered and separated Gauls[†].

It is an obvious truth, but it has been little attended to by the tribe of etymologists from Bochart to Mr. Macpherson, that names descriptive of national manners cannot be the original appellations of any people. They result from the intercourse and experience of the states around them, and are the natural expressions of their passions and feelings. And they must therefore in their own nature, not be primary, but posterior, denominations; not the names under which the nations originally settled in their own possessions, but those which were imposed upon them afterwards, when they encroached on the

[†] See History of Manchester, p. 9, and Cæsar, p. 4 and 6.

possessions of others. Hence the appellation of Brigantes came to signify, on the continent and in the island, a turbulent and plundering race of men¹. Thus the title of Cimbri acquired the same signification in Germany². And the denominations of the Celtic Ambrones and Gael finally sunk into mere words of reproach, and came to import, even among the Celtæ and Gael of this island, the Ferocious and the Stranger³.

P. 32. "The Cimbri—possessed the country
"to the West of the Severne, and that which
"extended from the Humber to the Tweed. The
"Gael, under the general name of Caledonians,
"inhabited the rest of the island to the extremity
"of the North."

I have already demonstrated this division of the island to be directly contrary to history, as it respects the Belgæ. And I shall now endeavour to prove it equally wrong, as it respects the Cimbri and Gael.

¹ See Strabo, p. 316; and Camden. p. 556. Edit. 1607.

² Plutarch, p. 495. vol. ii.

³ See History of Manchester, p. 420, for Ambrones; and the Irish call a stranger and an enemy Gael at present.

The names of Gael and Cimbri were not appropriated, as our author has appropriated them from the beginning. The former was not the distinguishing appellation of the Caledonians from the Cimbri and Belgæ. And the latter was not the distinguishing appellation of the Welsh and Brigantes from the Belgæ and Gael. Mr. Macpherson's Belgæ were denominated Cimbri, and Mr. Macpherson's Belgæ and Cimbri were denominated Gael.

I have previously shewn the name of Cymri to have been the great hereditary distinction of the Gauls upon the continent, and to have been carried with them into all their conquests. There I have shewn it to have been retained, equally as the general title of all their tribes, and the particular designation of some. And it was not retained in our own island, as Mr. Macpherson supposes, merely by the natives of Wales and the Britons of Brigantia. It was equally the name of a nation in the South-West of Somersetshire and the North-East of Cornwall. *In hoc brachio, quæ [quod] intermissione Uxellæ amnis Heduum regioni protenditur, sita est regio Cimbrorum*[†]. And it appears plainly, not to have been continued as a particular appellation from the beginning, but to have been taken up at different periods by different tribes, even in supersedence of their own previous appellations,

† Richard, p. 20. and History of Manchester, p. 61.

when

when they wanted to distinguish themselves from their enemies around them. Thus the Cimbri of Somersetshire and Cornwall were possessed of the denomination before the Romans arrived in the island, because they were closely skirted by their enemies, the Belgæ of Cornwall, Devonshire, Dorsetshire, and Somersetshire¹. The Voluntii of Brigantia in the 6th century, when they were pressed by the Saxons from the East, laid aside the denomination by which they had been distinguished for ages; and, as the Welsh Cymri is colloquially pronounced Cumri, entitled themselves Cumbri²; and the principal part of their country is called Cumberland at present. And the Silures, the Dimetæ, and the Ordovices, of Wales, in the later ages of their Empire, when they were attacked by the Saxons on every side, threw off their former appellations entirely, and have ever since distinguished themselves by the generical title of Cymri.

The names of Cymri and Gael are both equally the general designations of the Celtæ. The former related only to the patriarch of the line;

¹ History of Manchester, p. 61, and 413.

² Hence Llowarch Hên, a nobleman of Voluntia, and a writer of the 6th century, flying with many others from the Saxons of the North into Shropshire, calls it the paradise of the Cumbrians, Pouys Paraduys Gumri (Lhuyd's Archæologia, under Llowarch).

but

but the latter, as I shall shew hereafter, to the residence of his posterity among the wilds and woodlands of Gaul. Denominated Gael upon the continent, the colonists continued the appellation in the island. And it survives not, as Mr. Macpherson uniformly imagines, solely in that name of Gael which the Irish and Highlanders reciprocally give themselves. It survives, as I have shewed before, in the name of Gathel, which is equally pronounced Gael, and was once equally the appellation of the Irish, the Highlanders, and the Welsh. And it survives also in the appellation of Welsh, the whole body of the Provincials being repeatedly denominated Bryt-Walas, Wilsc, or Welsh, in the Saxon Chronicle; the Britons of Kent, the Britons of Suffex, and the Britons of Hampshire, the Britons of Dorsetshire, the Britons of Wiltshire, and the Britons of Bedfordshire, the Britons of Somersetshire, the Britons of Cheshire, and the Britons of Clydisdale in Scotland, being all distinctly particularized in the Chronicle as Wealas, Walen, or Bryt-Wealas; and the Britons of Galloway, Wales, and Cornwall retaining the appellation at present¹. These are such obvious
relics

¹ See History of Manchester, p. 437.—In p. 1. of the Sax. Chron. the Britons are called British or Wilsh, in p. 2. the Britons that opposed Cæsar's passage over the Thames are called Brytwalas, in p. 7. all the Provincials to the South of Severus's Wall are named Brytwalum, and in p. 11 and 12.

relics of the denomination of Gael, scattered over the whole face of the island, that it is very surprizing Mr. Macpherson should ever have thought of appropriating it to the Irish and Highlanders.

The Welsh then, who from their name of Cymri are inferred by Mr. Macpherson to be a distinct colony from the Gael, may with greater reason be inferred from their names of Gathel and Welsh, to be absolutely the same with them. And the denomination of Wales, which has been universally affirmed by the English criticks to have been imposed upon the country by the Saxons, and as universally agreed by the Welsh to have never been acknowledged by their countrymen, actually appears the acknowledged appellation of the region as early as the 6th century, and in the poems of a Welsh Bard :

Eu Ner a folant,
Eu hiaith a gadwant,
Eu tir a gollant,
Ond gwyllt Wallia¹;

actually all the Provincials, all from the Friths to the British Channel, are denominated Brytwalas and Brytwalana. The Welsh of Kent are repeatedly mentioned in p. 14, of Sussex twice in p. 14, of Hampshire p. 15, of Dorsetshire p. 25. (See Carte, p. 226. V. I.), of Wiltshire p. 20, of Bedfordshire p. 22, of Somersetshire p. 39, of Cheshire p. 25, and of Clydesdale p. 83 and 110.

¹ Talieffin, as cited by Dr. Davies in his Welsh Grammar.

They

They shall still praise their Maker,
 They shall still keep their language,
 They shall still be deprived of their lands,
 Except uncultivated Wales.

The Belgæ, who are supposed to be still more distinct, and were actually very different from the Gael, yet being equally derived with them from Gaul, bear equally the appellation of Gael; the Belgæ being all denominated in general, like a tribe on the continent of Gaul, Allo-Broges, or the Galli Brigantes, amongst the antients; and the Belgæ of Kent, Suffex, Hampshire, Dorsetshire, Wiltshire, and Somersetshire, being all specifically denominated Wealas in the Saxon Chronicle. The Cymri and Belgæ are both entitled Gael, with the Irish and Highlanders. And Mr. Macpherson's Belgæ I have shewn before to have been also entitled Cimbri with the Welsh. The name therefore, which he selects as the distinguishing mark of his second colony from his first and third, appears to have been common to his third and second. And the name, which he assigns as the sure signature of his first, appears to have been familiar to all the three.

80 THE GENUINE HISTORY OF

P. 35—36.—“The three great British Nations;
“whose origin we have endeavoured to in-
“vestigate, must have differed considerably from
“one another in language, manners, and cha-
“racter. Though descended from the same
“source, their separation into different channels
“was very remote. The Gael—, having passed
“from the continent before the arts of civil
“life had made any considerable progress among
“them, retained the pure but unimproved lan-
“guage of their ancestors together with their
“rude simplicity of manners. The British
“Cimbri derived their origin from the Galic
“colonies who, in remote antiquity, had settled
“beyond the Rhine. These, with a small mix-
“ture of the Sarmatæ, returned, in all their
“original barbarism, into the regions of the
“South. During their separation from their
“mother nation, their language and manners
“must have suffered such a considerable change,
“that it is extremely doubtful whether their
“dialect of the Celtic and that of the old British
“Gael were, at the arrival of the former in
“this island, reciprocally understood by both
“nations. The third colony differed in every
“thing from the Gael and Cimbri. Their
“manners were more humanized; and their
“tongue, though perhaps corrupted, was more
“copious. They had left the continent at a
“period of advanced civility.—But—the ra-
“dical

"dical words used by all were certainly the same."

Are the several parts of this Extract completely at unity with themselves? They seem to be a little heterogeneous. We are first told, that the three nations must have differed considerably in their language, and that it is extremely doubtful, whether the Cimbric and Gaelic were reciprocally understood at first: and yet we are afterwards told, that "the radical words used by all were certainly the same." The Gael and Cimbri are said to have "differed considerably in their manners," when they both retained "the rude simplicity of their ancestors," and "their original barbarism of manners," "with a small mixture of the Sarmatæ" adhering to one of them. The Cimbri are said to have returned "in all their original barbarism" into Gaul; though, "during their separation from it, their manners must have suffered a considerable change." They returned only "with a small mixture of the Sarmatæ" in their manners; and yet the change was "considerable."—And are not the several parts of this Extract in a state of hostility with other passages in the work? The Gael are here represented, as coming over from Gaul "before the arts of civil life had made any considerable progress," and as therefore retaining "the rude simplicity of their ancestors:" and

G

yet

yet the Cimbri, who came over from Gaul some ages afterward, are represented as arriving here "in a rude barbarity," and "in all their original barbarism." The Gael are brought into Britain, before the arts had made any *considerable* progress in Gaul, and consequently after they had made *some*; as also in p. 34 the Gauls appear to have arrived at "some degree of civilization," before the Gael left them: and yet the Cimbri, who left the continent three ages afterwards, when the arts of civil life must have been considerably advanced, bring with them a rude barbarity of manners. The Cimbri are here wafted into the island in all their original barbarism: and yet, before the Cimbri came over, we find that "the domestic improvements" in Gaul "had arrived at some degree of maturity." In p. 24 the Gauls appear to have arrived at "some degree of civilization," and in p. 8 agriculture in particular appears to have been "prosecuted with vigour and success," before the Gael left the country: and yet the Gael are here said to have retained the rude simplicity of their ancestors; and in p. 47 the Gael, and in p. 33 even the more southerly Cimbri, are both represented as totally ignorant of agriculture.—But let us not scrutinize too nicely.

I have repeatedly shewn the existence of these three colonies, in the island, to be all the creation of

¹ P. 33.

² P. 10.

Mr. Macpherson's prejudices. And that his Gael, Cimbri, and Belgæ differed very little from each other in their language and manners, is very evident. The language of all was exactly the same; as is plain to a demonstration from the appearance of the same names of towns, of rivers, and of tribes among all. We have Camulodunum for the name of a fortress among Mr. Macpherson's Cimbri of Yorkshire, and his Belgæ of Essex; Lindum amongst his Belgæ and his Gael; and Venta for the Capital of his Cimbri in Wales, and of his Belgæ in Hampshire and Norfolk; Urus or Ure, the name of a river in Yorkshire and Suffolk, and an appellative for a river in the Erse at present¹; and Alauna, Deva, and Devana, all three, rivers in the country equally of his Gael, his Belgæ, and his Cimbri; Novantes, a tribe of his Belgæ and his Gael; the Damnonii² and Cantæ among his Gael, and the Cantii and Damnonii among his Belgæ; and one tribe of his Gael, and two of his Belgæ, equally denominated Carnabii. And the manners of the three were but little different.

Mr. Macpherson himself shall convince us, that there was no great difference. The most humanized of any of the islanders, the Belgæ, are

¹ See Mr. Macpherson, p. 34. a note.

² The Damnii of Valentia are called both Damnii and Damnonii by Ptolemy.

expressly mentioned by Mr. Macpherson, in p. 33, to have arrived to this "pitch of cultivation," that "they sowed corn, they had fixed abodes, and some degree of commerce was carried on in their ports." And, as some of the other Britons equally sowed corn, so all of them had fixed abodes. *Interiores plerique*, says Cæsar, *frumenta non serunt*: some of them therefore did. Cæsar also found towns, and exactly the same sort of towns, among the Aboriginal and Belgic Britons¹. And the only distinction between the Belgæ and all the other islanders was this, according to Mr. Macpherson himself, that the former carried on *some* commerce from their ports.

Nor was the difference great in itself betwixt the real Britons and real Belgæ. They both constructed their edifices in the same manner, used the same stated pieces of brass or iron bullion for money, had the same fondness for keeping poultry and hares about their houses, and the same aversion to seeing them upon their tables. And they both painted their bodies, both threw off their cloaths in the hour of battle, both suffered the hair of their head to grow to a great length, both shaved all but the upper lip, both had wives in common, and both prosecuted their wars on the same principles. In all

¹ See History of Manchester, p. 467.

THE BRITONS ASSERTED.

these particulars, the great and principal strokes of the national character, the Belgæ and Britons universally agreed. Several of the latter likewise concurred with the former in their attention to agriculture, and in wearing garments of woolen. And the only distinction betwixt them was one, which was no difference of manners at all; that the Britons, being dislodged from that side of the island which was immediately contiguous to Gaul and Spain, and the only part of it which was visited by the foreign traders, were no longer able to pursue the commerce which they had previously carried on, and were obliged to resign it up to the Belgæ¹.

P. 34—37. “SILURES—, Siol, a race of
“men, Urus, the river emphatically, in allusion
“to their situation beyond the Severne.—
“CANTIUM, Kent, Canti, end of the Island.
“TRINOBANTES, Trion-oban, marshy district;
“the inhabitants of Middlesex and Essex.—
“DOBUNI, Dobh-buini, living on the bank of
“the river; they who of old possessed the coun-
“ty of Gloucester, alluding to their situation on
“the banks of the Severne. — ORDOVICES,

¹ See Cæsar, p. 88—89, and Hist. of Manchester, p. 385.

“Ord-tuavich, northern mountaineers, the inhabitants of North-Wales.”

Before I perused Mr. Macpherson's Dissertation, I was full of expectation to see the task of British etymology wrested out of the clumsy hands, in which a general ignorance of the Celtic had hitherto placed it. But sanguine expectations are seldom gratified. And perhaps I expected more than knowledge could supply. Mr. Macpherson however appears plainly, I think, to have derived all his knowledge of the Celtic from the view merely of one of its dialects. And he is frequently unhappy, I apprehend, in his application of that. This I have already shewn in the names of Celt, Cimbri, and Brigantes. And I hope to shew it again in the names before us.

Cantium, here resolved into Cant-i, the end of the island, must be formed upon the same principle, as the appellation of the Cantæ in Caledonia, who resided not at the end of the island, but lived along the eastern coast of it, and to the South of the Frith of Dornoch[†]; and as the present name of Cantire in Scotland, which is still farther from the end of the island, and lies along the western coast. And the word is clearly Cand or Cant, an Head or Prominence of land,

[†] See History of Manchester, p. 411.

and actually appears in Ptolemy's names for the South-Foreland, Cantion or A-Cantion, Promontory or The Promontory¹. The Cantii and Cantæ equally borrowed their appellation, from their position upon the headlands of their coast. And Cantire literally signifies an Headland.

The division of Trinobantes into Trion-oban will appear very surprizing, when we consider, that the tribe is denominated Novanei or Novantes in the coins of Cunobeline. And the interpretation of it into Marthy District will appear equally wonderful, when we reflect, that it was originally the name of the dry and gravelly site of London. The Belgæ of Kent pushed across the Thames, and seized the South of Middlesex, under the title of Novantes or New-comers². This happened a considerable period before the descent of Cæsar, as they then formed a powerful kingdom to the North of the Thames³, and must therefore have then held all the territories that they afterwards possessed in Middlesex and Effex. Upon their irruption into the South of Middlesex, they selected the fine site of the present London, the eminence betwixt the Thames and Fleetbrook, for the area of

¹ See History of Manchester, p. 467.

² History of Manchester, p. 60, 62, and 412.

³ Trinobantes, propè firmissima earum regionum civitas, p. 92.

a fortress; and the town, that was destined to be afterwards the imperial seat of Britain, they called by the local title of *Lon-din* or the *Water-town*, and by the national appellation of *Tre-Novantum* or the fortress of the *Novantes* ¹. And, as they spread afterwards from London over all *Middlesex* and *Essex*, they carried the name of their original city with them, and their appellation of *Novantes* was lengthened into *Trinovantes*.

Dobuni, formed of *Dobh-buini*, and interpreted the residents on a river, means, I think, as it has always been rendered, the men of the valley. They are therefore called *Dubni* and *Duni* in the varying denomination of *Cogi-Dubnus* and *Cogi-Dunus* ², *Dumni* in the appellation of *Togi-Dumnus*, and expressly *Boduni* in *Dio*. All these terms equally signify the Lowlanders. And the concurrence of all in one meaning decisively fixes it.—And *Ordovices*, here analysed into *Ord-tuavich*, and translated Northern Mountaineers, I have shewn, I think, to be *Ordo-Uices* or *Ordo-Vices*, the Honourable Vices or Great *Huiccii* ³; as in the fifth century we have a British hero popularly de-

¹ History of Manchester, p. 412 and 413.

² Chichester Inscription, and Tacitus.

³ History of Manchester, p. 148.

nominated Eneon Urd, the same word with Ard, only varied by the pronunciation, and signifying Eneon the Honourable or Great ¹; and as we have a promontory in Scotland, bearing the equal appellation of Urd and Ord Head at present.

The etymon of Silures is evidently deduced from too trifling and remote a circumstance, their bordering upon the Severn in one part, or, as Mr. Macpherson expresses himself, their residing beyond it. And the true etymon may perhaps be, S, Il, or Ile, Ur, the Great Men. So we have Elgovæ and Selgovæ in Ptolemy, as the name of the same people. And the Silures had a just claim to this magnificent appellation, being a very powerful tribe, and having subdued the Ordovices and Dimetæ of Wales. They appear also pretty plainly, though they have never been suspected, to have once possessed the Cassiterides. The principal of these islands is denominated Silura insula by Solinus, as all of them are to this day denominated the Silley Isles. Richard has applied to the Silures, what Solinus has spoken of the inhabitants of Silura ². And Tacitus evidently carries the possessions of the Silures to the Cassiterides, by placing them opposite to Spain: *Silurum colorati vultus, & torti plerumque crines, & positu contra Hispaniam, &c.* ³.

¹ See Carte, vol. i. p. 179.

² P. 21.

³ Agric. vit. c. 11.

P. 38. "Alba or Albin, the name of [by]
 "which the ancient Scots, in their native lan-
 "guage, have, from all antiquity, distinguished
 "their own division of Britain, seems to be the
 "fountain from which the Greeks deduced their
 "Albion. It was natural for the Gael, who
 "transmigrated from the low plains of Belgium;
 "to call the more elevated land of Britain by a
 "name expressive of the face of the country.
 "Alb or Alp, in the Celtic, signifies High, and
 "In, invariably, a country."

That the Gael transmigrated from the low plains of Belgium, is a mere assertion without authority; as the use of the word Belgium here is absolutely equivocal. According to Mr. Macpherson himself, they came not from Belgium, modernly so called, or Holland, but from the "Belgic division of Gaul¹," which reached from the Seine and the Marne to the mouth of the Rhine². And they came undoubtedly from that part of the division, which is the nearest to Britain, and from which they could descry the island. Mr. Macpherson accordingly represents the migration of the Gael, to have been "in crossing a
 "very narrow channel into Britain³." The fact therefore, of the Gael passing over into Britain from the low plains of Belgium, being un-

¹ P. 26.² Cæsar, p. 1.³ P. 26,

grounded

grounded in history and contradictory to reason, the etymology which is founded upon it must necessarily fall with it.—Nor is the etymology just in itself. Inis or In is so far from signifying invariably a country in general, that, I believe, it invariably signifies an island only. In its general acceptation it certainly means only an island. And the etymology of a popular name, which stands in direct opposition to the popular import of the word, must for that very reason be wrong ¹.

What then is the derivation of the name of Albion? It is the same, I think, that has been already given in the History of Manchester ².—Not imposed by the mere ancestors of the Caledonians, as is here insinuated; it was never imposed, assuredly, by any of the residents in the country. As the island regularly rose every morning to the eye of the Gauls that inhabited along the coast of Calais, and as its chalky cliffs glittered continually in the sun, the Gauls must certainly have beheld them, and could not but have given them some appropriate appellation. This, it is obvious, must necessarily have been

¹ So in Dr. Macpherson, p. 116—117, we have the same interpretation of Albion, the same fallacy concerning Belgium, and the same derivation of the first Britons from “the low plains of Belgium.”

² P. 9.

the case. This we must suppose to have happened, if no name had been transmitted to us that was characteristic of the circumstance. And the coincidence of the reason and name is a strong evidence of the fact. As the Gauls beheld the heights appearing on the other side of the water, they naturally distinguished them by a name, that was expressive only of the sensible appearance which they formed to the eye, and called them Alb-ion or Heights. Alb in the singular lengthens into Alb-an, Alb-on, Alb-ain, or Alb-ion in the plural. And we have the same word in the Gallic appellation of the mountains that divide Italy from Gaul. The Alps, some ages before the days of Strabo, were called Albia; and a very high mountain, that terminated the Alps upon one side, was denominated Albius in his time¹. And, equally some ages before, the Alps were denominated Albia and Alpionia; and in his time there remained two tribes on the mountains, that bore the names of Albioeci and Albienfes². The name, therefore, was the natural Celtic term for heights or eminences. As such, it was applied to the

¹ P. 309 and 483, Strabo.

² Strabo, p. 309 and 311.—These mountains were not inhabited when Bellovesus crossed them into Italy (Livy, l. v. c. 34): and they were afterwards possessed by many bodies of the Gauls (Strabo, p. 190.).

cliffs of Britain and the mountains of Gaul. And, as such, it is retained by the present Highlanders for their own, very mountainous, division of Britain.—The first name of the island, then, was given before the country was inhabited. Had it been given after that period, and from a view “of the face of the country:” derived as the first inhabitants were, across the narrowest part of the channel, from the bold shore of Calais; and so very level, in general, as all the southern part of the island undoubtedly is; they could never have distinguished it by the name of Albion. But accustomed to see it daily from their own shores, and to call it the Heights, they soon passed over in all probability from mere motives of curiosity, they perhaps stocked some of the nearer woods with wild beasts for their hunting, and ages afterwards formed a regular settlement on the Albion, that they had so long seen, denominated, and visited¹.

P. 39. “The Cimbri — arriving in Belgium, “and descrying Albion, gave it a new name expressive of the same idea which first suggested

¹ The Romans therefore frequently describe Albion as a level country. Mela says, *Siciliæ maxime similis, Plana, ingens, &c.* (l. iii. c. 6.). And Strabo says, *ἡ δὲ ἡ πλεῖστη τῆς γῆς ΠΕΔΙΑΣ* (p. 305.).

“ the

“the appellation of Albion to the Gael. Comparing the elevated coast of Britain to the fenny plains of the Lower Germany, they called it BRAIT-AN, a word compounded of Brait High and An or In a Country¹.”

The author has again imposed upon himself by the use of the equivocal term *Belgium*. And he has even applied it here in a double acceptation. As relating to “the fenny plains of the Lower Germany,” it can mean only Holland. But as the place from which the Cimbri could descry Albion,” and mark “the elevated coast of Britain,” it refers only to Belgic Gaul. Britain may be seen from the cliffs of the latter, but cannot be discerned from the low plains of the former.—Nor is the author quite consistent with himself in this and the preceding account. The name of Britain, we are told, was “expressive of the same idea which first suggested the appellation of Albion to the Gael.” And yet Albion is said to be “a name expressive of the *face* of the country,” and Britain to be derived from a view of its “elevated *coast*.”—But, even if these accounts were consistent, it shews surely a great want of attention, to deduce the name of Albion from the appearance of the country to those who had migrated into it, and the name of Britain from the aspect of the coast to

¹ So Dr. Macpherson, p. 333, interprets Britain to signify Hills.

the distant inhabitants of Gaul. This refers the second name to the view of the coast, which should naturally have given birth to the first; and ascribes the first to the face of the country, which should as naturally have been the cause of the second. It lets the Gael, who must have seen the cliffs of the island for ages, totally overlook the denominating appearance of it to the eye; and yet forces it afterwards upon the Cimbri. And it fixes not a name on the country before it was inhabited, though its appearance must necessarily have compelled one some ages before; and afterwards fetches a name from its appearance, when it had now been inhabited for ages, and had already acquired one from its nature. — But it seems to shew something worse than inattention, to give neither the Gael nor Cimbri any other ideas of a country than merely the marshes of Holland, to attribute the name of Albion to the Gael and of Britain to the Cimbri, to have the former appellation imposed after their settlement in the country, and to have the latter affixed before their migration into it; and to advance all this without one single argument or authority, real or pretended. — I proceed, however, to the etymology itself.

In the History of Manchester I have shewn from Pliny, that Britain was not the peculiar
and

and appropriate name of Albion ¹. It was common to all the islands about it. Albion ipsi nomen fuit, cum Britannia vocarentur omnes ². And Mr. Macpherson's etymology is overthrown at the first onset. — In the same History I have equally shewn from Richard, that Britain was not the name of the island originally ³. It was the appellation of the islanders. Vocabulo gentis suæ Britanniam cognominaverunt ⁴. And Mr. Macpherson's etymology is again overthrown.

The real eymon seems to be what is proposed in the History of Manchester ⁵. Perhaps I am partial to it, as my own. And I will therefore endeavour to open it more fully, and to examine it more attentively, than I did before.

Albion is obviously derived from the view of the coast, before it had been visited from the continent. Britain therefore, as the secondary name, was affixed to the country at or after the first migration into it. While it was only seen from the shores of Gaul, the name of Albion must have continued, as the most natural denomination of the country. And when it came to be settled, when a body of Gauls had actually migrated across the sea with their wives and children into it, they would still use the name

¹ P. 9.

² L. iv. c. 16. And Ptolemy accordingly calls Ireland and Albion equally a British island.

³ P. 9.

⁴ P. 1. And Isidore says the same; Britannia a vocabulo suæ gentis cognominata, p. 123, Cologne, 1617.

⁵ P. 8—10.

for the country which they had used for ages before in Gaul; and Albion accordingly remained the regular appellation of the island. But the new colonists would naturally be distinguished, among their brethren and themselves, by some denomination expressive of their remove across the Channel, and of their separation from the great body of their countrymen in Gaul. The idea, of their disjunction from Gaul, would be the first that presented itself to the mind. And the idea, of our separation from the continent of Europe, always appears a leading one in the language of the antients concerning us. This then must naturally have vented itself in some appellation of disjunction, for the colonists that crossed the Channel into Britain. And they could scarcely avoid calling themselves, and being called by their brethren, the Separated or Divided Persons. An etymon therefore, expressive of this idea, should be the first that is sought for by a judicious enquirer into the meaning of Britain. And any easy etymology, which is expressive of this idea, will for that reason be superior to every other. Such is the etymology, which is offered in the History of Manchester.

The primitive and radical word in the name of Britain, is obviously Brit. One of our islanders is repeatedly denominated Brit-o and Britt-us

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by

by the Romans, and Bryt by the Saxons¹. This then is the original word. And this is the very word which Mr. Camden has equally selected, but interpreted to signify Painted, and to allude to the well-known custom of the Britons.—Appellations descriptive of manners, as I have previously observed, are never the first and primary designations of any people. They are the result of attention to them, and the consequence of observations upon them. And, long before the unreflecting mind could catch the characteristic quality of a people, it must of course have taken up with some sensible and exterior discrimination of them. And where one nation migrated immediately from another, as the Britons from the Gauls, and where the new colonists could have no communication for ages with any but their brethren in Gaul, there no names characteristic of manners could arise. Having no dissimilarity of manners, they could not distinguish each other by it. And the Britons must have brought the custom of painting, as well as all their other customs, originally with them from Gaul.—Nor does Brith properly signify Painted. That is merely the posterior and derivative

¹ In *Cannigeter de Brittenburgo, Hagæ-Comitum*, 1734, p. 21, we have two Roman Inscriptions, found on the banks of the Rhine, and addressed *Matribus Brittis*. And see *Saxon Chronicle*, p. 15, &c.

signification of the word. It is Brith in Welsh, Brit in Irish, and Breaht¹, Breac, and Bryk, in Erse, Irish, and Welsh; and primarily meant any thing Divided. This is evident from the present meaning of the word in many of its derivatives, in the Irish Brioth a Fraction, Brath a Fragment, and Bracaim to break asunder, and in the Welsh Breg a Breach, Bradwy a Fracture, Briw a Fragment, Briwo to break into fragments, and Bradwyog and Brwyd Broken². And, carrying with it originally the single idea of division, it was afterwards, by the natural assimilation of ideas in the human mind, applied to every thing that presented the idea of a division. It was first applied probably, as in the Irish and Highland Breacan, to the striped mantles of plaid. And, from the colours in regular divisions on the plaids, it would be transferred to objects that were but dispersedly marked with colours; and Brith, Brit, Breaht, Break, and Bryk came to signify Particoloured, Speckled, and Spotted. Thus Breac stands for any thing speckled or a Trout, Breiein for a small Trout, Britineach or Brittinios for the Meazles, in the Irish at present; Brech is ap-

¹ Ossian, V. I. p. 210. a note.

² So also in the Welsh, Breichio, to take part with any one, Brau and Breuol, Frangible, and Breuolaeth and Breuawd, Frangibility, and in our Anglo-British word Brittle or Frangible.

plied to the Small Pox in Armoric; and Breok, Brethal, Brethil, or Brethel, are used for a Mackerel, Brethyl for a Trout, and Brag-ado for a pied ox, in the Manks, the Cornish, the Armoric, the Welsh, and the Mountain Spanish. And hence it came to signify a Painted object, but such an one only as was coloured merely by parts. This deduction plainly evinces the original and primary idea of the word, and shows from the current meaning of it in all its derivatives, and from the regular analogy of all languages, that it could never have signified Painting, if it had not first imported a Division. This then is the true meaning of the word Brit. And it leads us directly to the natural appellation of a people, that had migrated from their brethren, and were divided from them by the sea.

The original word appears above to have been equally pronounced Briſt, Brit, and Brioth, Breact, Breac, and Brig; and from the Gallic Bresche and the Scotch Bris a Rupture, the Irish Bris to Break and Brisead a Breach, the Welsh Briwſion Fragments, and the Armorican Breizell, as well as Brethel, a Mackerel, appears to have been sometimes softened into Bris or Breis. And it occurs with all this variety of terminations in the Irish Breattain or Breatin, Britain, and in Breathnach, Briotnach, and Breagnach, a Briton; in the Armorican names of Breton, Breiz,

Breiz, and Brezonnec, for an individual, the country, and the language, of Armorica; in the Welsh Brython and Brythoneg, the Britons and their language; and in the antient synonymous appellations of Brigantes and Britanni. These I have previously shewn to be synonymous, by demonstrating the Britons all over the island to have been, equally with those of Yorkshire and Durham, denominated Brigantes as well as Britanni. And in the History of Manchester I have shewn the Brigantes of those two counties, to have been peculiarly denominated Britanni also ¹.

The national appellation of Brit therefore imports, not the insular nature of Albion, by which it was separated from all the world, but merely its disjunction from Gaul. The former could not be known for ages after the name must have been imposed. And the latter was an obvious and striking particularity. The Gael or Wealas of the continent passing over into Albion, they would naturally be denominated, as they are actually and repeatedly denominated in the Saxon Chronicle, the Bryt-Wealas or Bryttas ². But how shall we lengthen Brit into Britanni and Britones? We cannot with

¹ P. 10. ² See p. 2. and 18, &c. And the sea, which they passed over into this island, appears upon the same principle to have been called by the Britons, for ages afterward, Muir Iſt, or the Great Separation. See Uſher, p. 429. Edit. 1687.

Camden call in the Greek *τῶναι*, for a country, to our aid. And we must not with Pezron and Carte adopt the equivalent Tain of the Celtic. The name of Britain, as I have shewn above, was the appellation of the islanders, before it was the denomination of the island. And the want of attention to the Genius of the British language has created all the difficulty. It instantly vanishes, the moment we remark the manner in which the British words shoot out in the Plural. Brist or Brit is enlarged into Brit-on or Brit-an, and therefore, in the antient and modern use of the word, is sometimes Brits¹, Bracht, Brecht², and Britt-i, in the Plural, but more commonly Bryth-on, Brit-on-es, and Brit-ann-i, and, in the relative adjectives, Brit-ish, Breathn-ach, Briotn-ach, Brython-eg, and Brit-an-ic-i. And the equivalent Brag or Brig is formed, on the same principles, into Brig-an or Brig-ant in the plural, and therefore appears sometimes as Brig-as and Brog-es³, sometimes as Breag-n and Brig-ian-i⁴, but generally Brig-ant-es, and, in the relative adjectives, Breagn-ach and Brig-ant-ic³.

This is a plain and obvious derivation of the name of Britain. It results from that striking

¹ Camden, p. 20.

² Carte, V. I. p. 25. a note.

³ Stephanus Byzantinus, Lugd. Bat. 1694, p. 245, and History of Manchester, p. 9.

⁴ Pliny, lib. iii. c. 20.

peculiarity

peculiarity in the position of the natives, which must necessarily have denominated the new colonists of Albion. And it is deduced from no foreign language, which could not have any relation to the name, but flows natural and easy from the Celtic.

P. 39. " This new name [Britain] never extended itself to the Gael of North Britain; and the posterity of the Cimbri have lost it in the progress of time. The Scottish and Irish Gael have brought down the name of Alba or Albin to the present age: the Welsh use no general appellation. The æra of its imposition ought to be fixed as far back as the arrival of the Cimbri in the island."

In the paragraph immediately preceding this, the name of Britain was imposed upon the island when the Cimbri were yet in Gaul, and before they migrated into Britain. " The Cimbri—, arriving in Belgium, and descrying Albion, gave it a new name—, comparing the elevated coast of Britain to the fenny plains of the Lower Germany." But it is here fixed after the Cimbri had for some time beheld the high lands of Albion, after they had left Gaul, and even after they had arrived in the island. " The æra of its imposition ought to be fixed as far

“back as the arrival of the Cimbri in the island.”
How contradictory is this!

And that the name of Britain never extended itself to the Gael of North Britain, and is lost among the Cimbri; and that the name of Albion is the only one, which has been brought down to the present age by the Scottish and Irish Gael; are all gross mistakes, mistakes too in facts where one would least expect them, from a gentleman so conversant in the Celtic language, who speaks the Erse as a native, and has studied it as a critick. With regard to the Irish and Scottish Gael, the reverse of Mr. Macpherson's assertion is the real truth. They have brought down the name of Britain to the present age. And they have not brought down the name of Albion. They retain indeed Alban or Albain for the appellation of their own country: but they are totally ignorant of it as the name of the whole island. And I have shewn before, that the appellatives Britain and Britannic still continue in the Erse, the common language of the Scotch and Irish, and in the words Breattain, Breatin, Breatnach, and Briotnach. Nor is the name lost among the Welsh, the only part of Mr. Macpherson's Cimbri that speak the British language at present. It was used in the name of Prydæn among his Cimbri of Brigantia, in the days of Llowarch Hên¹; and in the name of Prudain

¹ Lhuyd, p. 219.

among his Cimbri of Wales, in the earlier days of Pabo¹. And it exists in the Welsh Prydhain and the Cornish Prydein, the Welsh Brython and Brythoneg, and the Armorican Brezon and Brezonnec, to the present period. The new name of Britain, therefore, extended itself to Mr. Macpherfon's Gael, both in Caledonia and Ireland, as it remains in the common language of both to the present day. And the name of Britain must, for that reason, not have been imposed upon the island, by any body of colonists that were distinct from, and even in hostility with, the Gael. It was affixed from some principle of discrimination that equally affected all, and was adopted by all as the one national note of distinction. And it accordingly appears to have been common to every division of the islanders. Given and assumed at the first migration of colonists into Albion, as the natural signature of their sequestration from their brethren in Gaul; it was never the denomination either imposed or retained exclusively by a part, but was at once coæval with the plantation of the island, and commensurate with the colonies of the islanders.

¹ Mona, p. 158, second Edit.

II.

CONCERNING MR. MACPHERSON'S
FIRST POPULATION OF IRELAND
BY THE CALEDONIANS.

PAG. 41. "The Cimbri and Belgæ, after
" they were comprehended within the pale
" of the Roman dominions, were seen distinctly ;
" but the more ancient inhabitants of the island,
" the Gael, appeared only transiently, when, in
" an hostile manner, they advanced to the fron-
" tiers of the province. The arms of the empire
" penetrated, at different periods, into the heart
" of the country beyond the Scottish Friths ;
" but as these expeditions were not attended
" with absolute conquest, and a consequent set-
" tlement of colonies, the Romans made little
" inquiry concerning the origin and history of
" the natives of the northern division of Bri-
" tain."

I do not love to suppose contradictions in an
author of Mr. Macpherson's merit, and especially
within

within the compass only of a few lines. It seems so unlikely, that I am rather inclined to disbelieve the suggestions of my own judgment. And yet I have already observed such an hastiness in the composition of the present work, and some contradictions which, seemingly at least, are so gross, that I cannot give up my feelings to an affectation of fairness, and sacrifice precision to politeness. — We are here first told, that the Gael appeared only transiently to the Romans, when in an hostile manner they advanced to the frontiers of the Roman province. And yet we are told immediately afterwards, that the Romans penetrated at different periods into the heart of their country. Is not this contradictory? And is not the whole passage in direct opposition to another in p. 22—23? Here we are assured, that the Cimbri and Belgæ were, and that the Gael were not, seen distinctly by the Romans. But there we find, that “the information of the Romans accompanied the progress of their arms; new communities rose gradually before them as they advanced into the heart of the island; till *the whole body* of its inhabitants came forward *distinctly* to view, when Agricola carried the Roman eagles to the mountains of Caledonia.”

The great position in this extract is, that the Caledonians were but little known to the Romans, because they were never comprehended within

within the Roman empire. The fact is not true. And the reasoning is not just.

Many nations were well-known to the Romans, that were never comprehended within the pale of their empire. Ireland is a remarkable instance of this, where we have all the tribes recited, all the towns enumerated, and all the headlands and rivers specified, equally as in the provinces of Britain. As the Roman empire extended itself upon every side, the Roman geographers and historians enlarged the circle of their observations, gained an acquaintance with all the nations that bordered upon their frontiers, and carried their researches where the arms of their countrymen never penetrated. And Mr. Macpherson in another place, and to serve another purpose, not only allows but contends for it. "It is morally impossible," says he in p. 190, "that a migration sufficient to people Caledonia and Ireland, could have happened, without falling within the knowledge of the writers of Rome, who *certainly extended their enquiries to the transactions of the wild nations on the frontiers of the empire.*"

But the fact is not true, that the Caledonians were unknown to the Romans, because they were never comprehended within the empire. Since some of them were comprehended, those must have been fully known, as fully as the Cimbri
and

and Belgæ. Since several of them were, several must have been known as fully. As many were reduced by the Romans, the Romans must have been conversant with a considerable part of Caledonia. And, as the greater part of the tribes submitted to their power, the greater part of the country must have been open to their observations. That this was the case, may be easily shewn. The Gael or Caledonians are placed by Mr. Macpherson, before, in the large division of the island which runs from the Tweed to the Orkneys. "The Cimbri," he says in p. 32, "— possessed — the country — from the Humber to the Tweed. The Gael, under the general name of Caledonians, inhabited the rest of the island to the extremity of the North." Now this region comprehended no less than twenty-one tribes¹. And no fewer than eleven of these had been actually subdued by the Romans, and brought within the pale of their empire, being formed into the province of Valentia to the South of the Friths, and of Vespasiana to the North of them². Vespasiana continued a province from the year 140 to 170³. And Valentia remained one, from the days of Agricola to the late period of the Roman departure⁴. The

¹ History of Manchester, p. 63, and 409—411.

² Ibid.

³ History of Manchester, p. 419.

⁴ History of Manchester, p. 453—458.

Gael therefore, that resided to the South of the Friths, not only appeared to the Romans by advancing frequently to the frontiers of the provinces, but were all engaged with the Romans, were all subdued by them, and were all reduced into a province. They did not merely appear transiently and occasionally to them, but were actually invaded, actually conquered, and actually retained in subjection for no less than three centuries and a half. They were equally comprehended within the circle of the Roman empire as the Cimbri and Belgæ, were equally comprehended with both in the first century, and equally continued in it with both to the middle of the fifth. And, as to the Gael that lay North of the Friths, even many of these, no less than six whole tribes, were entirely subdued by the Romans; the Horestii, the Vecturiones, the Taixali, the Vacomagi, the Damnii Albani, and the Attacotti¹: and the Romans prosecuted their conquests, over the mountains of Athol and Badenoch, as far as Inverness. No colonies indeed were settled there, as none also were settled in Valentia. Colonies were not the necessary consequence of absolute conquest. Stations only were. And numerous stations were planted to the North of the Friths, as Alauna, Lindum, and

¹ History of Manchester, p. 410.

Victoria, among the Horestii ; Orrea, Ad Hiernam, Ad Tavum, Ad Eficam, and Ad Tinam, among the Vecturiones ; and others in Strathern, Menteith, Badenoch, Braidalbin, Athol, and Inverness¹. The Romans therefore, who had penetrated into the center of the Highlands, who settled in all the conquered regions from the Friths to Inverness, and even made an astronomical observation, which is still preserved, at the town of Inverness², could not be ignorant of the countries in which they resided, could not be uninformed concerning the region which immediately bordered upon them, and must have been sufficiently conversant with all Caledonia. Intimately acquainted, as they were, with the interiors of an island which they had never visited at all, Ireland ; they must have been much better acquainted with the interiors of Caledonia, in the heart of which they were encamped for thirty years together, and where their scholars appear to have been particularly observant.

Mr. Macpherson's remark therefore, that his Caledonians were little known to the Romans, because they appeared only transiently upon the frontiers of their empire, or because they were never absolutely reduced by their armies, appears to be equally unjust in the reasoning and false in

¹ History of Manchester, p. 409—410.

² History of Manchester, p. 56.

the fact. The Romans were well acquainted with Ireland, though they never visited it. And they actually reduced three fourths of Mr. Macpherson's Caledonians. The Romans must have been well acquainted with a people, with whom, as friends or enemies, they had a continual and uninterrupted intercourse of nearly four centuries. And they have actually left us a very particular account of all the tribes of Caledonia, in Ptolemy and Richard.

P. 41—42. "Julius Agricola, who, for the first time, displayed the Roman eagles beyond the Friths, was not more successful in the field than he was happy in an historian to transmit his actions with lustre to posterity. But even the distinct and intelligent Tacitus gives but a very imperfect idea of those enemies, by the defeat of whom his father-in-law acquired so much reputation. We learn from him indeed that the Caledonians were the most antient inhabitants of Britain."

Here the author evidently fixes the Caledonians beyond the Friths. And yet, as I have shewed in the last article, he brings them in p. 32 down as low as the Tweed. How inaccurate!—And here is also another great inaccuracy. From Tacitus we learn, if we may ascribe the speech
of

of Galgacus to him, not that the Caledonians were the most antient inhabitants of Britain, but that they were the most honourable, nobilissimi totius Britanniae. And flourishes like that, in such addresses as Galgacus's, it is idle to adduce for an historical authority.

P. 42—44. “ This is the sum of what the
 “ Romans have related concerning the Caledo-
 “ nians for near two centuries after they were
 “ first mentioned: to their origin and internal
 “ history they were equally strangers.—Had the
 “ Romans established themselves in Caledonia,
 “ we might indeed have known more of the an-
 “ tient inhabitants of that country—. The first
 “ domestic writers of the history of North Bri-
 “ tain were too ignorant, as well as too modern,
 “ to form any probable system concerning the
 “ origin of their nation.”

I have already shewn, that the Romans did establish themselves in Caledonia, and that they reduced one half even of the genuine Caledonians, the Britons to the North of the Friths. And as to the ignorance of the Romans, concerning the interior history and origin of the Caledonians before their invasion, they were equally ignorant concerning the Britons in general.

I

Whence

Whence the Britons were derived, when they came into the island, and how they gradually diffused their spreading numbers to the farthest promontories of Caledonia, was all equally unknown to them.

P. 47—48. “ In proportion as the Cimbri advanced towards the North, the Gael, being circumscribed within narrower limits, were forced to transmigrate into the islands which crowd the Northern and Western coasts of Scotland. It is in this period, perhaps, we ought to place the first great migration of the British Gael into Ireland; that kingdom being much nearer to the promontory of Galloway and Cantyre, than many of the Scottish isles are to the continent of North Britain. This vicinity of Ireland had probably drawn partial emigrations from Caledonia before the arrival of the Cimbri in Britain; but, when these interlopers pressed upon the Gael from the South, it is reasonable to conclude that numerous colonies passed over into an island so near, and so much superior to their original country in climate and fertility.”

I have already demonstrated, that no colony of the Cimbri, as distinct and different from the Gael,

Gael, ever landed in the island. And, consequently, all the transactions attributed to them must be absolutely false. This series of suppositions, therefore, is a chain of errors. As the Cimbri never advanced towards the North, the Gael could not have been circumscribed within narrower limits, or forced to transmigrate into the western isles of Scotland. As no such interlopers ever pressed upon the Gael, no colonies of them, either small or numerous, could have been induced by it to pass over into Ireland.

But I am obliged here to remark again the author's apparent inconsistency, with regard to the position of his Gael. In p. 32 they are ranged from the banks of the Tweed to the northern extremity of the island. In p. 41—44 they are placed only to the North of the Friths. Here, in p. 47, they are brought down as low as Gallo-way again. And in p. 48 they are once more carried back to the Friths. It is there said, that when the Belgæ "drove the Cimbri beyond "the Severne and Humber, the Gael of the "North, reduced within limits still more circumscribed by the pressure of the Cimbri, sent "fresh colonies into Ireland, while *the Scottish Friths became a natural and strong boundary to-* "wards the South to those Gael who remained in "Britain." And yet at this very period, even when the Cimbri inhabited betwixt the Humber and Tweed, the Gael are said before to have

reached from the Tweed to the North. "The
 " Cimbri,—retiring from the pressure of these
 " new invaders [the Belgæ], possessed the coun-
 " try — from the Humber to the Tweed. The
 " Gael, under the general name of Caledonians,
 " inhabited the rest of the island to the extremity
 " of the North¹." So unsettled is the author in
 his notions concerning the British topography of
 the island, and so varying and contradictory in his
 representations of it.

P. 48. "The inhabitants of the maritime re-
 " gions of Gaul crossing, in an after age [after
 " the Cimbri], the British channel (*maritima pars*
 " *Britanniæ ab iis*, qui *prædæ ac belli inferendi*
 " *causâ*, ex Belgis transierant: . . . et bello il-
 " lato ibi remanserunt, atque agros colere coepe-
 " runt. Cæsar de Bell. Gall. lib. v.), established
 " themselves on that part of our island which lies
 " nearest to the continent; and, moving gradu-
 " ally towards the North, drove the Cimbri be-
 " yond the Severn and Humber."

I have brought this passage out to view, merely
 to shew one, among many instances, of Mr. Mac-
 pherson's strange behaviour towards his quota-
 tions. He asserts the Belgæ to have carried their
 possessions up to the Humber. And he asserts

¹ P. 32.

it upon the strength of a quotation, of which he has italicised the principal words; when that very quotation, and those very words, do in the fullest manner confine the Belgæ to the southern shore. This is surely a very extraordinary specimen of inattention and inaccuracy.

P. 48—49. “ It was, perhaps, after the Belgic invasion of the Southern Britain, that the
 “ Gael of the Northern division formed themselves into a regular community, to repel the
 “ incroachment of the Cimbri upon their territories. To the country which they themselves
 “ possessed they gave the name of CAELDOCH,
 “ which is the only appellation the Scots, who
 “ speak the Galic language, know for their own
 “ division of Britain. CAELDOCH is a compound made up of Gael or Caël, the first colony of the antient Gauls who transmigrated into
 “ Britain, and DOCH, a district or division of a
 “ country. The Romans, by transposing the letter L in Caël, and by softening into a Latin termination the *ch* of DOCH, formed the well-known name of Caledonia. Obvious as this
 “ Etymon of Caledonia appears, it was but very
 “ lately discovered. (This Etymon first occurred
 “ to the author of this Essay, and he communicated it to Dr. Macpherson, who adopted it

“from a conviction of its justness). Those who
 “treated of the antiquities of North Britain were
 “utter strangers to that only name by which
 “the Scots distinguished the corner of Britain
 “which their Ancestors possessed from the re-
 “mote antiquity. From an ignorance, so un-
 “pardonable in antiquaries, proceeded that er-
 “roneous system, &c. 1.”

I have made this large extract, to exhibit the whole argument in all its force, and, I may add, in all its ostentation too. And I shall now endeavour to shew the reasonings to be as feeble, and the etymons as injudicious, even in this triumphant passage, as in any that I have dissected before.

The assertions in this paragraph are these; That the Caledonians perhaps first formed themselves into one community, to repel the incroachments of the Cimbri; That a proof of this incorporation remains in the word Caeldoch, which signifies the District of the Gael; and, That this word is the Latin Caledonia. Each shall be considered distinctly.

The incroachments of the Cimbri must be as imaginary, as the rest of their history. And any association of the Caledonians to repel them,

¹ This Etymon is in Dr. Macpherfon, p. 27. and 100.— And he makes the same use of the name of Gael in p. 97—98, and of Caeldoch in p. 100.

must be equally visionary with both. The first time that the Caledonians embodied into one empire, was assuredly the period which is assigned for it in the History of Manchester¹. The Romans under Agricola were the first common enemy which had hitherto attacked them. Nothing but such an attack could have induced them to form themselves into one monarchy. And they first formed themselves at that period. *Æstate quâ sextum officii annum inchoabat [Agricola], amplas civitates trans Bodotriam sitas, quia motus universarum ultra gentium, et infesta hostili exercitu itinera, timebantur, prius classe exploravit*². In the commencement of the 6th year of Agricola's Proconsulate therefore, or in the spring of the year 83, the Caledonians were not yet associated together. Agricola only apprehended that they would speedily unite, as the danger became more imminent to all. And in this and the year following they actually combined. *Ad manus et arma conversi Caledoniam incolentes populi;—nihil remittere, quo minus juventutem armarent, conjuges ac liberos in loca tuta transferrent, cœtibus ac sacrificiis conspirationem civitatum sancirent; tandem docti commune periculum concordia propulsandum*³. The Caledonians therefore did not model their tribes

¹ P. 414.² Agric. V. c. 25.³ C. 25, 27, and 29.

into one community, in consequence of the Cimbric incroachments upon them. There were none made. And there were no Cimbri, or German Celtæ, to make them. The Caledonians actually embodied together long after the æra assigned for it by Mr. Macpherson, when Agricola threatened the reduction of all their tribes.

Nor is the name of Caeldoch, now used by the Highlanders to signify their own country, any proof of such an association. It is no proof of any at all. And the etymon, which is here displayed with such an air of consequence, and with such a reflection upon the ignorance of others, is obviously unjust in itself. This will easily appear.—I have previously shewn Gathel to be pronounced similarly to Gael by the Irish and Highlanders. And Gathel is also changed, as I have equally remarked, into Galath, Galat, Galt, and Celt. It is also changed into Gaelt, Gallt, Gaeld, and Gald¹. This we see directly exemplified, in the Gael of the continent and the island being universally denominated Galatæ and Celtæ by the Græcians, Gallt and Gallta by

¹ See Buchanan, p. 34—35. and p. 61. V. I. Ruddiman, who informs us, that the Scotch use the word Gald for a Gaul. And see also Gauld-i and Gaelti, and even Gaeltach, in Dr. Macpherson, p. 98, 99.—From the word Gald is derived the name for Galgacus in the Scotch Romances, Galdus.—And see Irwin's Hist. Scot. Nomenclatura Latino-vernacula, 1683, p. 83.

the

the Irish, and Gaelt, Gallt, and Gald by the Highlanders. And the relative adjective of this word is the very name, which Mr. Macpherson has so ingeniously distorted here. Gael and Cael lengthening into Gal-ek and Cael-ich, Gallt must be formed into Gallt-ach, and Gaeld into Gaeld-ach. And we have Gallt-ach in the Irish language, the appellation for a Gaul at present. Gaeld-och and Gallt-ach therefore are one and the same word, the relative adjectives of the same national appellation, Gaeld and Gallt; and, in the spirit of all other relative adjectives, refer equally to an individual, the language, or the country, of France and Scotland. Thus easily is the spell dissolved, which held both Dr. and Mr. Macpherson in absolute bondage. And thus readily is the fabrick destroyed, which was raised by the magic hand of error, equally slight in its structure, and momentary in its continuance.

That Caeldoch is the very same word with Caledonia, is another of Mr. Macpherson's positions, But it is equally a mistake. And I hope convincingly to prove it. I shall lay before the reader what I have said upon this subject in the History of Manchester, and shall make some additions to it.—I have previously shewn the words Gathel, Gael, Galat, Galt, Gaeld, and Celt, to be all one and the same appellation. And, though Mr. Macpherson in p. 10 seems inclined to derive one
of

of them, Gaul, from the Celtic Geal, Fair, a designation evidently too effeminate for the bold and ferocious Celtæ; they all signify a Woodlander. Geil-t, Guylh-t, and Guel-z, among the Irish, the Welsh, and the Armoricans, import a Man of the Kelli, Guylh, or Guel, a Wood; all of them the evident remains of the antient and obsolete *Guidhil* or *Guethel* a Wood. And several woods in Wales are actually denominated *Cottel* to this day¹. *Coil*, the same with the *Cottel*, the *Guylh*, and the *Kelli*, of the Welsh, and answering to *Gathel*, *Gael*, and *Cael*, is the customary term for a Wood among the Irish and Highlanders at present. And *Gulad* occurs in *Gulad-ædh*, the Welsh for a Woodlander; *Kelyd* appears in *Kelydhon*, the British for Woods; and *Gelht* remains undisguised in the Welsh language at present: all corresponding to *Galat*, *Galt*, *Gæld*, and *Celt*, and all signifying with them a Wood. The celebrated appellations therefore of *Gathel-i*, *Galat-æ*, *Calet-es*, *An-Calit-es*, and *Celtæ*, all import a Wood only. And bearing the Celtic prefix before them, which is used in the antient History of Ireland, as *Fir-Bolg* and *Fir-Damnon*, and which is equally used in this very appellation by the Irish of the present moment, as *Gallta* or *Fear-Gallta*; the denomina-

¹ Mr. Lhuyd in N^o 2. Appendix to Nicholson's Scottish Hist. Library

tions of Fir-Galat, Fir-Galt, Fir-Gaeld, and Fir-Celt must have signified merely the Man of the Wood. But, in two national denominations of the very same origin, the termination is a little different, because the words are in the plural number, or stand as the relative adjective. Kelyd or Caled lengthens into Kelyd-on or Caled-on, Woods; and Gallt or Gaeld is formed into Gallt-ach or Gaeld-och, Woodland-ish. Thus Caledon became the antient appellation for all the extensive Forests of the Gatheli and Galli in the provinces of Britain; from the Forest of Anderida in Kent, Suffex, and several other counties, into which, under the name of the Caledonian Woods, Florus says that Cæsar pursued the Britons; to the Forest of the Coritani in Lincolnshire and some adjoining provinces, to which, under the same denomination of the Caledonian Wood, Pliny says that the Roman arms had been carried in his time; and to the well-known Caledonian Forest of Scotland¹. Thus Fir-Caledon, or Caledones, and the equivalent Gaeld-och, became equally the antient and present appellations for the Gathel and Gael of the Highlands. And Caledonius became occasionally among the Romans a denomination equivalent to Britannicus, and was applied equally with it to all the Gathel

¹ Florus, L. iii. c. 10. Caledonias secutus in silvas; Pliny, L. iv. c. 16; and History of Manchester, p. 415, and 337.

and

and Gael in the island ¹.—The word *Gaeldoch*, therefore, is very different from the word *Caledonia*. Derived from the same root, and carrying the same power, they are very distinct branches. The one is a relative adjective; the other is a Noun Substantive. The one is derived from *Gaeld* in the singular; the other is deduced from *Caledon* in the plural. And the one is the same word with *Celticus*, and the other with *Galatarum*.

I have been thus particular upon the subject, because it is of some consequence in itself, and Mr. Macpherson introduces it with such a fond regard. And I think that I have fully demonstrated his reasonings and etymons to be advanced, equally in opposition to the voice of history, and to the principles of the Celtic language.

P. 49—50.—“ Concerning the internal state
“ of Caledonia, and the division of its inhabi-
“ tants into various tribes in a very early period,

¹ History of Manchester, p. 439—440.—And there is an additional proof of it, that has never been noticed, in these well-known lines of Lucan, in which the Caledonians are first mentioned in history, and the Britons about Richborough called Caledonians:

*Aut vaga cum Tethys Rutupinaque littora fervent,
Unda Caledonios fallit turbata Britannos.*

“ we

“ we can find nothing certain. The account
 “ given by Ptolemy of the Epidii, Carini, Cantæ,
 “ Logæ, and other nations, is little to be regard-
 “ ed. Tacitus passed over those petty commu-
 “ nities in silence; and in the period between
 “ the expedition of Julius Agricola, and the
 “ reign of Marcus Aurelius, under whom the
 “ Egyptian geographer flourished, the Romans
 “ had no opportunity of being acquainted with
 “ the domestic arrangements of the Caledonians.”

In this passage Mr. Macpherson rejects Ptolemy's account of the internal state of Caledonia, and of its division into various tribes, because Tacitus passes over these communities in silence; and because, from the days of Tacitus to the time of Ptolemy, the Romans had no opportunity of knowing the domestic arrangements of the Caledonians. The former is surely a very trifling reason. And the latter is certainly a false fact.

The silence of Tacitus, concerning the tribes of Caledonia, is no proof that he was not acquainted with the divisions. He has not even specified any of the nations, that Agricola conquered from the Dee to the Friths. And yet Mr. Macpherson will not deny the partition of the country into tribes. He actually acknowledges it in this very page and in p. 51, speaking of the Selgovæ, the Gadeni, the Damnii, the Novantes, and the Ottadini, five of those nations,
 and

and whom he knows only from Ptolemy. In p. 82 also he expressly quotes the authority of Ptolemy for the Brigantes, the Velaborii, the Cauci, and the Menapii, in Ireland; though the Romans never had any opportunity at all, in Mr. Macpherson's acceptation of the word, to know the interior division of the country. And in p. 63 he argues, that even the *manners* of the Irish must have been perfectly known to the Romans, though here he denies them to have known even the names and positions of the Caledonian tribes, and though he allows them to have had continual wars with the one, and none at all with the other. So inconsistent is Mr. Macpherson with himself! So much does he warp with the variations and bearings of his favourite hypothesis!

The design of Tacitus and Ptolemy was very different. That was composing an historical narration of national transactions; this was writing a geographical account of the nations. The one was obliged to detail to us the names, the sites, and the towns, of the various tribes that crouded the face of the island. But the other was required only to give us general descriptions and general appellations, such notices only as were just sufficient to lend propriety and meaning to the actions, and to exhibit the actors and their principles in a strong point of view. Tacitus therefore does not enumerate the tribes of Caledonia;
and

and Ptolemy does. Tacitus does not specify any particular nations; but he speaks expressly of them in general. And Mr. Macpherson's argument again fails. *Amplas civitates trans Bodotriam fitas; motus universarum ultra gentium; Caledoniam incolentes populi; conspirationem civitatum; and, omnium civitatum vires*¹. From the officers of Agricola, therefore, might the Romans have derived that knowledge of the domestic arrangements of the Caledonians, which Ptolemy has presented to us. And, even additional to this source of intelligence, Ptolemy had the finest opportunity that ever a geographer had, of knowing the internal disposition of Caledonia compleatly, from the remarkable war of which Mr. Macpherson appears to be totally unapprized, the invasion of Caledonia by Lollius Urbicus about the year 140, and the reduction of half of it under the dominion of the Romans². And Ptolemy, as I have previously remarked, has actually given us an astronomical observation, which was made at Inverness, and could have been made only in consequence of that reduction.

¹ Agric. V. 25, 27, and 30.

² See History of Manchester, p. 55—56, and 418—419.

P. 50. " Though the Scottish Friths are generally allowed to have been the boundaries of Caledonia towards the South, it is more than probable that those tribes who possessed the country between the walls were principally descended from the antient Gael. The names of the Selgovæ and Gadeni, two petty communities on the northern banks of the Solway and Tweed, seem to strengthen this supposition. They carry in their signification a proof that the tribes who bore them were in a state of hostility with their neighbours the Ottadini and Brigantes, which furnishes a presumption that they derived their origin from a different quarter. (Selgovæ is plainly Selgovich latinized. Selgovich literally signifies *Hunters*, in a metaphorical sense *Plunderers* —. Gadeni is plainly from *Gadechin*, Robbers; a name which arose from the same love of depredation with their friends and neighbours the Selgovæ¹.)"

I have more than once remarked already the strange doubling of the present dissertation, in sometimes bringing down the Gael or Caledonians to the banks of the Tweed, and in sometimes carrying them up to the North of the

¹ The same etymons of Selgovæ and Gadeni are given by Dr. Macpherson in p. 112.

Friths. And the same spirit occurs here again. We have before been informed positively and without hesitation, that "the Gael, under the general name of Caledonians, inhabited from the Tweed to the extremity of the North." But we are here informed, that their inhabiting from the Tweed to the Friths is only "more than probable," that Mr. Macpherson "supposes it," and that there is "a presumption" for it. The certainty in p. 32 is all dwindled away in p. 50. And as the reader proceeds in the work, and naturally expects a clearer light and stronger convictions, he finds his author himself faltering in his style, and becoming more dubious of his own positions.

The Caledonians were brought down at first to the Solway and Tweed, and are occasionally brought down at present, merely because of the name of Galloway there; as the name of Cumberland occasioned the Cimbri, before, to be placed betwixt the Tweed and the Humber. And the Caledonians were carried at first, and are occasionally carried at present, to the North of the Friths, because history expressly places them to the North. The two strong and active principles, thus unwarily blended together, are continually struggling for superiority, and sometimes the one colour and sometimes the other predominates.—But the reason here adduced, for the residence of the Caledonians betwixt the

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Walls,

Walls, is even feebler and more trifling than the secret one before. The names of Selgovæ and Gadeni, it is said, *prove* the tribes to have been in a state of hostility with the Ottadini and Brigantes. But why not with the Caledonians? There is no more reason for that than this. And then the argument is not only repelled, but actually changes sides, and militates directly against its master.

But I am tired with pursuing such impertinencies. And yet others present themselves before us. Mr. Macpherson is greatly mistaken both in his Geography and Etymology.—Selgovæ, he says, signifies Hunters, and metaphorically Robbers. But the metaphor is such as contradicts every idea of propriety. And it is such peculiarly, as no nation and age of Hunters could ever have tolerated. Selgovæ appears from Ptolemy to be Elgovæ with a Prefix, being written by him Selgovæ in one place and Elgovæ in another. And the root of the name is therefore to be sought in Elgovæ, and is probably this. The æstuary formed by the river Eden was pretty certainly denominated S, Alga, Av, or The Noble Water, as Ireland has been sometimes denominated Inis Alga in Irish, and a Peninsula on the banks of the Loffie in Scotland seems to have been called Elgin formerly¹.

¹ So another peninsula, formed by the streams of the

The name remains to this day in its present appellation of the SOLWAY Frith, as the antient name of Conovius continues in that of the Conway at present. And the tribe, that inhabited along the whole extended line of the æstuary, was naturally denominated Fir-Elgovæ or Fir-Selgovæ, Men, or the Men, of the Great Water. — Gadeni is also interpreted Robbers, and to be the same word with the Irish Gadechin, Robbers. The real word in Irish, I believe, is not Gadechin, but Gaduighe a thief, and Gaduighen Thieves. And Gadeni plainly comes from Gadh or Cath a Fight, as Crutheni is derived from Cruth; and, like Camulo-genus, the name of a Gallic Hero in Cæsar¹, signifies the Men of the Battle, or the Warriours. And the Gadeni are therefore denominated Cadeni, in a Roman-British inscription discovered in the North². — Nor were the Gadeni bounded merely by the northern bank of the Tweed, or the Ottadini by the southern, as Mr. Macpherson places them. The Gadeni ranged from the Wall to the North of Lanerk. And the Ottadini, whom he supposes to lie all to the South of the Tweed, extended beyond it to the Friths³. His great division of the North to

Loffie and Spey, seems to have been called Inis, an island, having the two villages of Innes and Ince in it.

¹ Cæsar, p. 164.

² Horfeley, N^o 80. Northumberland.

³ History of Manchester, p. 63.

the Cimbri and Gael, is therefore entirely overturned, as his great partition of the South to the Cimbri and Belgæ was before. Those whom he denominates Cimbri and opposes to the Gael, *the Cimbric Ottadini* of p. 51, lived only in a small part of the country which he has assigned to the Cimbri, and possessed also a large portion of that region which he has allotted to the Gael. But this is not all. The whole "country between the "Walls" Mr. Macpherson here resigns up to the Gael, as the Selgovæ, Gadeni, and others; whom he engages in hostility with, and therefore supposes to be of a different origin from, the Ottadini immediately to the South of the nearer Wall. But the whole body of the Ottadinian dominions, except a very small slip of land along the southern edge of Northumberland, was actually to the North of the nearer Wall¹. Mr. Macpherson cedes all "the country betwixt "the Walls" to his Gael, and therefore brings them down to the northern banks of the Solway and Tweed. But he is not aware, that the nearer Wall did not run from the Solway to the Tweed. It began on the Solway: but it ended on the Tyne.

Thus have I laid open the numerous mistakes in this remarkable passage. I have shewn the

¹ History of Manchester, p. 63.

reasonings,

reasonings, I think, to be at once arbitrary in their principles and frivolous in their conclusions. And I have demonstrated the Geography of the island, I apprehend, to be both false and contradictory.

P. 51. "As that tract of country which is
 "comprehended between the Tweed and Solway,
 "and the Scottish Friths, was more exposed to
 "invasion than Caledonia, we may conclude
 "that the Gael who possessed it were, in some
 "degree, mixed with the Cimbric Ottadini and
 "Brigantes, even before the invasions of the
 "Romans pressed those tribes towards the North.
 "It was from this unavoidable mixture that the
 "Selgovæ, Gadeni, Damnii, and Novantes, were,
 "in an after-age, distinguished by the name of
 "Mæataæ, which signifies a people descended
 "from a double origin, as well as the inhabitants
 "of a controverted country. (Moi-atta, or Moï-
 "attich, the inhabitants of the Plains: Mæan-
 "atta, the possessors of the Middle country :
 "Moai-atta, a mixed people)."

The errors in this part of the Dissertation seem to rise before us every step that we take, and are perpetually stopping us in our progress. This passage immediately follows the former.

¹ These two etymons are given by Dr. Macpherson, p. 23.

The former was the last of four or five successive Extracts. And this is as pregnant with mistakes as any of them.

If the mixture of Mr. Macpherson's Ottadini and Brigantes with his Gael betwixt the Walls, was, as he alledges, *unavoidable*, because the country betwixt the Walls was the frontier of Caledonia; the same mixture must have been equally unavoidable, on the frontiers of the Belgæ and Cimbri in Wales and Maxima. The region betwixt the Solway, the Tweed, and the Friths, is not more "exposed to invasion," than the land behind the Severne and the Dee, or the tract between the Humber, the Mersey, the Tweed, and the Eden. And since the country to the South of the Solway and Tweed must have been equally exposed to invasion, as that to the North of them, the barriers of both being exactly the same; the same *unavoidable* mixture must have equally ensued in Northumberland as in the Lothians &c., and in Cumberland as in Anandale &c. The reasoning, therefore, is not only inaccurate, but carries an edge with it, that, "like
"an ill-sheathed knife, will cut its master."

The facts also and the etymons are both equally untrue.—I have previously shewn the Ottadini not to have been Cimbric, even upon Mr, Mac-

Shakespear,

pherson's

pherfon's own argument. And the invasion of the Romans preſſed no tribes towards the North. All appear to have poſſeſſed exactly the ſame diviſions of the country before the Romans came, as they enjoyed afterwards. And this is particularly the caſe with regard to the Brigantes. They had reduced the Selgovæ before¹. But the Gadeni, the Novantes, and the Damnii were totally unmixed either with Ottadini or Brigantes. And this *unavoidable* mixture is falſe in fact.—The name of Mæatae, alſo, belonged not to any tribes betwixt the Walls, but to ſome that lay to the North of the more northerly Wall. This indeed has been conſiderably doubted. But it may be eaſily proved. In the Hiſtory of Manchester I have already ſhewn, to the full eſt conviction, I believe, of every mind, that the Romans regularly retained the province betwixt the Walls in their own poſſeſſion, from the period of its firſt conqueſt to the æra of their departure from the iſland². And the expedition of the Emperor Severus was, therefore, againſt the Britons that lay to the North of Antoninus's Vallum. The Mæatae then whom he reduced, who afterwards revolted, and to whom Caracalla reſigned up all the conqueſts of his Father, muſt have been ſome tribes to the North of that

¹ Hiſtory of Manchester, p. 104.

² Hiſtory of Manchester, p. 453—458.

Vallum.—And, thus wrong in the position of the Mæataæ, Mr. Macpherson is sure to be mistaken in his explanation of their name. And it is neither just in its own nature, nor right in its application to them. It is not just, because in the Text it equally gives two, and, still more strangely, in the Note equally annexes three, very different imports to the word; the inhabitants of the Plains; the possessors of a middle country, or (as, to humour his Hypothesis, he contradictorily calls it in the Text) a controverted one; and a mixed people. All three were certainly not meant by the name. And, of the two mentioned in the Text, neither was meant at all. This is obvious from the impropriety of deducing Mæataæ from Moai-atich, and the greater impropriety of deducing it from Mæan-atich. And even the derivation of it from Moi-atich, which is the best of them all, and had been previously adopted in the History of Manchester¹, appears to me now to be harsh and forced. How Mr. Macpherson could be induced to give this interpretation in the Note, I cannot conceive; as it plainly stands in direct opposition to the reasonings and etymons in the Text. And the real etymology of the name, I believe, is this. Mag, a Plain, must have been equally pronounced May and Mæ originally, as

¹ P. 415.

it naturally would be, and as it is now written Mæs in Welsh and Moi in Irish. And the inhabitants of the lower lands of Caledonia, which lie immediately to the North of Antoninus's Vallum, and along the line of the Eastern coast, would naturally be distinguished from the rest of the Caledonians, the Mountaineers upon one side of them, by some topical and descriptive appellation. The Mountaineers are thus discriminated at present by the title of Albanach or Highlanders. And the others are to this day denominated the Lowlanders. May or Mæ, a Plain, runs out into Mai-ed or Mæ-at in the plural. And as we have seen Fir-Gallt and Fir-Caledon above, and as the Carnabii and Cantii must have been originally Fir-Cant and Fir-Carnab, so Mæatae must have been Fir-Mæ-at, and signifies the Men of the Plains.

I have dwelt the longer upon this passage, to lay open the inaccurate mode of reasoning which is used by Mr. Macpherson, the very bold manner in which he advances suppositions into certainty, and his strange method of contradicting in the Notes what he asserts in the Text. The reasoning here is peculiarly loose and flimsy. The assertions are uncommonly strong and arbitrary. And the contradiction of the Note to the Text is remarkably striking.

P. 54. Our author, having in p. 52—53 satisfactorily proved from the Greek and Roman writers, that the ancient Irish were the descendants of the Britons, says thus—"The name of Gael, still
 "retained by the old Irish, sufficiently demon-
 "strates that they derive their blood from those
 "Gael or Gauls, who, in an after-period, were
 "distinguished in Britain by the name of Cale-
 "donians. The wildest enthusiasts in Hibernian
 "antiquities never once asserted that the Cale-
 "donians, or their posterity the Picts, were of
 "Irish extract; yet nothing is better ascertained
 "than that the ancient Britons of the South gave
 "to the Scots, the Picts, and the Irish, the com-
 "mon name of Gael; and consequently that they
 "very justly concluded that the three nations
 "derived their origin from the same source, the
 "ancient Gael of the continent."

This *demonstration* is no argument at all. That will immediately appear. And a very slight examination will add one more proof to the many which we have had before, of Mr. Macpherson's unhappiness in the work of proving.

The Irish are said, by retaining the name of Gael, to prove themselves the descendants of the Caledonians. If the author here includes the country to the South of the Friths in the name of Caledonia, then he is once more in a state of hostility

hostility with some of his former positions and all history. If he does not, then the Irish may be descended from the Gael of Galloway. And, whether he does or not, his reasoning from the name of Gael is quite impertinent. The name is no evidence at all of the Caledonian descent of the Irish. It was not appropriated to the Caledonians either North or South of the Friths. It was, as I have previously shewn, common to all the Britons, deduced with them from Gaul, and retained by them in all their islands. And the Irish might be equally *demonstrated* to be derived from the Gael of Wales, the Gael of Cornwall, or the Gael of Kent and Suffex.

The antient Britons of the South are also said to have given the name of Gael to the Scots, the Picts, and the Irish, and “consequently to have very justly concluded” them to be all one and the same people. This conclusion, however, is not the antient Britons, but Mr. Macpherson’s. And it is not just at all. Though the antient Britons of the South did call the Scots, the Picts, and the Irish, by the common name of Gael, they did not mean to derive the first and the last from the second. They equally gave the name of Gael to themselves, as I have shewed before, to the tribes of Kent and Suffex, the nations of Cornwall and Wales, and to all the Britons.

But the course of the author’s reasoning here is very remarkable. He produces an argument
to

to prove, that the Irish were derived from the Caledonians. And at the close of it he concludes, that the Irish were derived — from the native Gauls. The name of Gael demonstrates the Irish to “derive their blood from *those Gael or Gauls, who, in an after-period, were distinguished by the name of Caledonians.*” And the name of Gael proves the Scots, the Picts, and the Irish to have “derived their origin from the same source, *the antient Gael of the continent.*” Vainly imagining, in opposition to the most obvious evidences, that the name of Gael in Britain was appropriated entirely to the Caledonians; and wildly supposing, in contradiction to the most express declarations of history, that the other tribes of Britain were German-Celtic; Mr. Macpherson goes on with a false association of ideas from the beginning to the close of his work, walking in one circle of errors, and plunging into absurdities and contradictions at every turn.

P. 54. a note. “Mr. O’Connor, who lately gave to the public some wild, incoherent tales, concerning the antient Irish, endeavours to obviate the strength of the argument, which rises against his system from the name of Gael, by disguising the word by the insertion of the intermediate letters, DH, as thus, *Gadhel.*”

"*Gadhel*. The subterfuge avails nothing. DH
 "are universally quiescent, or at most found
 "like a y, in every dialect of the Celtic lan-
 "guage."

The argument deduced from Gael may be effectual against Mr. O'Connor's system, but, as I have already shewn, is of no force to establish Mr. Macpherson's. The indigenous appellation of Gael for the Irish serves strongly to evince them, what history demonstrates them to be, the descendants of the Britons. But it serves not in the least to point out the particular division of Britain, from which they were immediately derived.

Mr. Macpherson's intimate acquaintance with the Celtic language, was such an advantage over the body of our historical writers, that he might very justly, as he does in p. 5 and 38, plume himself considerably upon it. But I have previously remarked, that his knowledge of the Celtic appeared to be confined within the pale of a single dialect. And the present Extract confirms me in the opinion. Mr. Macpherson in p. 46 commends the author of the Critical Dissertations, for his "great knowledge of *all the branches* of the Celtic language." The knowledge of both, however, seems to me to have been confined almost entirely to the Irish or Erse. And it particularly seems so here. Mr. Macpherson could not otherwise have imagined, as he here asserts,

asserts, that *dh* are “universally quiescent, or “at most sound like a *y*, in every dialect of the “Celtic.” And he re-asserts it in p. 148, saying that “Gaidhel,—as the *dh* are *invariably* “quiescent in Celtic words, is much the same “with Gael.” This is very true concerning the Irish. But it is utterly untrue with regard to the Welsh particularly. That is a principal dialect of the Celtic. And the Welsh Guidhil, which is the same with the Irish Gaidhel, and which Dr. Macpherson expressly asserts to be pronounced like it, Gael¹, is not pronounced like it at all, but actually and fully Guidhil.—We have also an instance of the same nature in p. 130. There the Welsh appellation for Ireland, Ywerdhon or Yverdhon, is said expressly to be “pronounced “Yberon or Yveron.” And it is really pronounced, as it is written, Ywerdhon.—The author’s and his friend’s acquaintance with “every “dialect of the Celtic,” did not extend to the Welsh. And his observation of the *invariable* quiescence of the *dh* in Celtic, and his friend’s remark on the pronunciation of the word Guidhil, were both drawn, we see, from a view of the Irish only.

¹ See p. 97.

P. 54—55. "The British Gael, in an early age,
 "extending themselves to the very extremities
 "of the island, descried Ireland from the Mulls
 "of Galloway and Cantire, and crossing the nar-
 "row channel which separates the two countries,
 "became the progenitors of the Irish nation. In
 "proportion as fresh emigrants from the conti-
 "nent of Europe forced the antient Gael towards
 "the North in Britain, more colonies transmi-
 "grated into Ireland from the promontories
 "which we have so often mentioned."

The great historians of antiquity have claimed the privilege of being believed upon their own authority, and without any regular reference to the older chronicles. But the privilege is confined to them. Every modern historian that writes of a period preceding his own, of which he must know the incidents merely by tradition from others, is justly required to authenticate his accounts as he proceeds, and to produce sufficient vouchers for his facts. And the historical writer, that neglects this duty, must be content to see his work, perhaps, the favourite history of an hour, pleasing by its novelty and engaging by its elegance, and then to have it resigned up to neglect and contempt for ever.—Here is the original inhabitation of Ireland by the Gael of Caledonia asserted, the place assigned from which the

the original colony embarked, and the migration of additional colonies from the same place, in consequence of fresh invasions of Britain, affirmed; and all, without one article of authority or one note of diffidence.

P. 55. "The Gael — became so numerous
 " in that country [Ireland] before the arrival of
 " the Belgæ in Britain, that the colonies which
 " transmigrated from that nation into Ireland
 " were, together with their language, manners,
 " and customs, lost in the Gael; so that in one
 " sense the Caledonians may be reckoned the
 " sole progenitors of the old Irish. (The Fir-Bolg,
 " so often mentioned in the traditions of the
 " Irish, were Belgic colonies who transmigrated
 " from Britain after the Belgæ had seized on the
 " southern division of England. They are men
 " tioned very frequently under the name of Siol
 " na m Bolga in the poems of Ossian.)".

The Gael are here said to have been "so numerous in Ireland before the arrival of the Belgæ in Britain," that, when the Belgæ came into Ireland, they were lost in the Gael. How very inconclusive! The Belgæ, when they came into Ireland, were lost in the Gael: and therefore the Gael, it is argued, must have been
 very

very numerous in Ireland, before the Belgæ arrived—in Britain. How strangely inaccurate!

That the Belgæ were lost in the Gael of Ireland, is a fact which is equally asserted and denied by Mr. Macpherson in the present Extract. It is expressly asserted in the Text, and plainly denied in the Note. And I have shewn an instance of the same nature immediately before. The Belgæ, according to his own account in the Note, must have survived for ages distinct from the Gael; or else no “traditions of the Irish” could exist concerning them at present. They must also, according to the same account in him, have survived to the third century at least, not only distinct from, but even opposed to, the Gael; or they would not have been mentioned so frequently, under their own name of Belgæ, in the Poems of Ossian. And they accordingly appear in his own Temora, waging long and bloody wars with the Gael.

That the former were lost in the latter at all, is inferred evidently from the Irish, the Belgic and Aboriginal Irish, equally calling themselves and being called by others the Gael. But the inference is grossly unjust. I have already shewn all the Belgæ of Britain to have been actually denominated Gael. And their language appears decisively to have been the Gallic or British. This is plain from the only remains that

we have of the Belgic, the names of their tribes, their towns, their woods, and their rivers, and the exact correspondence of all to the names of the British. Thus we have Isca, the appellation of a river among the Belgæ of Devonshire and the Britons of Wales; Alauna, for a river in Hampshire, Warwickshire, and Lancashire; and a Sturium in Kent and between Norfolk and Suffolk: the town of Camulodunum among the Belgæ of Essex and the Britons of Yorkshire; Durobrovis in Kent, and Durocobrivis in Northamptonshire; Venta in Hampshire, Norfolk, and Monmouthshire; and Vectis in Hampshire, and Vecturion-es in Scotland: a Caledonian Wood in Kent and Suffex, in Lincolnshire and some adjoining counties, and in the Highlands of Scotland: the Damnonii of Devonshire and Valentia; the Cantæ of Caledonia, and the Cantii of Kent; and the Novantes of Middlesex and Galloway.

The whole of this passage is obviously composed, in order to give the Caledonians the honour of being the ancestors of the Irish. For this, history and reason are distorted. For this, Mr. Macpherson is at war with himself. And, for this, even Ossian is contradicted. But, even if the fact was as Mr. Macpherson states it to have been, the end and design, poor and trifling as it is, could not be answered. Even though the Belgæ had been lost in the Gael, and even though the Gael had been Caledonians, the Caledonians
could

could in no sense be reckoned the *sole* progenitors of the old Irish. The Irish must even then be derived from a mixt race of Britons; and the Belgæ of South-Britain must have concurred with the Gael of the North, to claim the honour of producing them. Though the Belgæ had been covered with the name of Gael, they would not less have been Belgæ, or have less contributed to produce the Irish.

P. 55—57. “ When the Gael arrived first in
 “ Ireland they naturally gave it the name of Iar-
 “ in, or the western country.— From Iar-in is
 “ not only to be deduced the Eirin of the Irish
 “ themselves, but those various names by which
 “ the Greeks and Romans distinguished their
 “ island (Juverna, Ierna, Iris, Ουερνια, Hibernia).
 “ —Hibernia, the most common name by which
 “ the Romans distinguished Ireland, may appear
 “ to some too remote in the pronunciation and
 “ orthography from Iar-in, or H'Eirin [*the*
 “ Western Country], to be derived from either.
 “ This difficulty is easily removed. Julius Cæsar
 “ mentions, for the first time, Ireland under the
 “ name of Hibernia. One of two reasons in-
 “ duced the illustrious writer to use that appel-
 “ lation. He either latinized the H'Yverdnon of
 “ the Southern Britains, or, what is more proba-

“ble, he annexed to Ireland a name which suited
 “his own ideas of its air and climate,—and—
 “formed the name of Hibernia from the adjective
 “Hibernus.”

I have cited this passage, principally to mark the strange manner in which, within a few lines, the author palpably contradicts himself. And I have produced more than one instance of this before.—In the beginning of the Extract, Hibernia is without hesitation pronounced to be derived from the Caledonian *Iar-in*. But, in the conclusion, it is declared to be derived either from the Welsh *H'Yverdhon* or the Latin *Hibernus*. Thus is Mr. Macpherson his own greatest adversary. And while, in the gaiety of indiscretion, he is brandishing his sword to hew down all opposition, he unhappily buries it in his own bosom.

The deduction of Hibernia from the Latin *Hibernus* is one of the meanest and most frivolous etymons, among the thousands which have disgraced the science of etymology, that I ever remember to have seen of late. It is only fit for that infantine period of human learning and understanding, which originally gave it to the world, and exhausted all its feeble powers in the derivation of Scotland from the Greek *Σκωτος*, and of Albion and Hibernia from the Latin *Hibernus* and *Albus*. And I am astonished that a gentleman, of Mr. Macpherson's spirit and intellect, could

could ever stoop to raise it from its peaceful grave in the dust.

The names of Iris, Ierna, Juverna, and Hibernia are all obviously deduced from the same radical word. Iar or Eir, West, evidently forms the Ir in Iris and the Ier in Ierna. And Ier being sometimes pronounced Iver and Hiver, as Cumri and Cimmerii were changed into Cumbri and Cimbri, and as Eure, the name of a river in France and England, was formed into Ebur in Ebur-acum and Eburo-vices; with the addition of In, an island, it plainly composes Ier-ina, Ierna, Iverna, and Hibernia.

I HAVE here given the reader a full and complete view of Mr. Macpherson's conjectures and arguments, concerning the first population of Ireland by the Caledonians. And the whole resolves itself into two points; That Ireland would naturally be first peopled from the Mulls of Galloway and Cantire; and, That the indigenous name of Gael for the Irish is a proof of their Caledonian descent. The former obviously amounts

only to a fair probability. And the latter has not even that merit. The argument has been repeatedly overthrown, by shewing the appellation of Gael not to have been confined to the Caledonians, but to have extended with the colonies of the Britons over all their islands. And even the probability, fair as it is, can be of no service to Mr. Macpherson, since Galloway is not within the limits of Caledonia, and the probability is equally favourable to Galloway as Cantire.

In the History of Manchester I have shewn from indisputable authorities, when and by whom the isle of Ireland was first inhabited. About 350 years before Christ, the Belgæ crossed the Channel into Britain, and seized the whole extended line of the southern coast from Kent into Devonshire. Numbers of the former inhabitants, that had gradually retired before the enemy, were obliged at last to take shipping upon our western coast, and passed over into the uninhabited isle of Ireland. And these were afterwards joined by another body of Britons, at the great attack upon the neighbouring states by the Belgæ under Divitiacus, who pursued the track of their brethren, and associated with them in Ireland. The first population of that fine island, therefore, was originally begun, not by the northern, but the southern, Britons; not from the promontories of Caledonia, but the shores
of

of the Channel ; in consequence of the Belgic invasion of Britain, and about the year 350 before the Christian æra. And this, the first colony that came into Ireland, was succeeded by another, which was as little deduced from the northern Britons or the hills of Caledonia, and came equally from the shores of the southern sea, in consequence of the advances of the Belgæ into the interiors of Britain, and about the year 100 before Christ †.

I have also shewn from the same authorities, that Ireland, for two centuries and a half afterwards, was continually recruited with fresh swarms from Britain ; as the populousness of this island and the vicinity of that, invited them to settle in the one, or as the bloody and successive wars in Britain, during this period, naturally induced them to relinquish the other. The third and fourth colonies that settled in Ireland, as I have observed in the History of Manchester, were in all probability derived from Galloway and Cantire. As the Epidii and Damnii of those countries lay the nearest of any Britons to the isle of Ireland, they must therefore be supposed, after the extraordinary embarkations of their southern brethren, to have been the first of all the Britons that made settlements within it. And the

† See History of Manchester, p. 432—433.

name of Damnii, for a tribe on the opposite shores of Ireland and Britain, gives a great additional weight to the supposition. These migrations were most probably occasioned by the mere populousness of the latter, crowded as it now began to be with inhabitants, and by the mere proximity of the former, plain as it appeared to the eye from the shores of Cantire and Galloway. But the succeeding were occasioned by the wars of the Britons among themselves, and of the Romans against them all. And I have endeavoured, and with no little success, I think, to trace back every new colony to its original district in Britain, and to refer their passage into Ireland to the very commotion that sent them thither. The island appears to have been planted with colonies from the whole range of our western coast. The Belgæ of Dorsetshire and Cornwall at one end, the Britons of Caledonia at the other, and almost every nation betwixt them, all contributed to the population of Ireland. And the whole circuit of the country was compleatly peopled about 150 years after Christ. Some historical notices, that have never been made use of before, have lent the general light that has directed me in this discovery. The occurrence of the same names of tribes and towns, in both islands, has led me on. One or two intimations and some historical facts, in the Poems

of Ossian, have furnished additional evidence. And from the whole I have been enabled, I apprehend, to draw up the first authentic history of Ireland, as to the primary population of the isle and the original transactions of the colonists, that has hitherto made its appearance in any language¹.

¹ See History of Manchester, p. 434—438.

354 THE GENUINE HISTORY OF

CHAP. III.

WE are now come to that important period of Mr. Macpherson's Introduction, for which all the rest was evidently written, for which we have seen all the annals of the island and continent distorted from their true line, antient History garbled and contradicted, and Mr. Macpherson's own assertions mangled and opposed. We are now come to the Origin of the Scots.

I.

FROM p. 58 to 78, Mr. Macpherson is engaged in a formal attack upon those pretensions, which the Irish have made to an original very different from the other inhabitants of the British isles; in order to prove them and the Scots the descendants of Caledonians. And the attack is very easy. Those fabricks of fiction, which the Irish credulity and patriotism have been rearing for ages, all melt away before the strong beams of History and Criticism. But indeed the romances are replete with such prodigies of folly, and are so universally despised by the judicious on the continent and in our own island, that they were not worthy of a serious refutation. And such a writer as Mr. Macpherson, engaged in such a contest, seems to me like the redoubtable Sir John in Shakespear, attacking a dead man sword in hand, and with one wound more in his thigh carrying him away in triumph².

Mr.

² But it is proper to observe, that almost every argument in this disquisition is borrowed, sometimes literally, and generally without acknowledgement, from Innes's Critical Essay. The reference to Strabo in p. 60 and 61 of Mr. Macpherson; to Mela, Tacitus, and Solinus, in p. 62; the answers to objections

Mr. Macpherson in p. 78—91 applies himself to the business of refuting the arguments of Father Innes, concerning the Spanish or Scandinavian extraction of the Scots of Ireland. This is an harder task than the former. And yet these, and all the other conclusions of our Historians and Antiquarians, may be answered without any great difficulty. Fluttering for want of information concerning the real descent of the Scots, the historical mind has wandered over the continent in search of their original home, has eagerly caught at the most trifling appearances of argument, readily embraced the wildest suggestions of Tradition, and molded both into a system, which is more specious and solid than the fictions of the Irish, but easily yields to the force of a well-directed blow. So far, therefore, as Mr. Macpherson's arguments relate only to the Spanish or Scandinavian origin of the Scots, I shall not attend to them. He may demolish those Gothick Structures at his will. His efforts

tions in p. 63; the appeal to Camden, Ware, and Usher, in p. 64—65; what is said of Ware and the Psalter-Cashel in p. 67, and of the form of the Irish Alphabet in p. 67—68; are all taken from Innes, p. 428, 429, 431, and 432, 430, 433—434, 435—437, 434—435, 439, and 448—449, without one acknowledgement of the real Owner, and more than once with the adoption of his own words.—And Dr. Macpherson had borrowed some of the arguments before from Innes. See p. 88—90.—Compare also p. 70—71 of Mr. Macpherson with p. 90 of the Doctor.

are

are spirited, and his labours decisive. But when he endeavours, as he does twice, to derive any advantage from his conquests in favour of a Caledonian origin, I must then beg leave to interpose, and shew his pretensions to be as false as the Irish, and his arguments as visionary as Innes's.

P. 78—79. At entering on his refutation, Mr. Macpherson speaks thus, — “ They [the Scots] “ came, says the ingenious Father [Innes], either “ from Scandia or Cantabria [into Ireland], about “ the time of the Incarnation, or rather a little “ time after it.—Innes is the only writer who has “ reduced the origin of the Scots into a regular “ system; and he endeavours to defend it. “ Should the ingenious Father’s scheme be de- “ stroyed, the Caledonian extraction of the Irish “ must of course rise upon its ruins.”

This is surely a very extraordinary argument. Though the Irish be proved not to have been derived from Scandinavia or Cantabria, we are not one step nearer to their derivation from Caledonia. They may have come with equal probability from the whole extended shore of Britain, that reaches from Caledonia to the Channel. And I have already shewn that they actually did.

P. 90—91. At the conclusion of his refutation, Mr. Macpherson speaks thus.—“ We must
 “ have recourse, in the last resort, to the Caledonian Britons for the genuine origin of the
 “ Irish. Their name of Gael, their language, the
 “ conformity of their manners and customs with
 “ those of the Old Britons, all concur in proving, beyond any possibility of reply, that the
 “ Irish are the posterity of the Gauls or Gael,
 “ who, after having traversed the island of Great
 “ Britain, passed over, in a very early period,
 “ into Ireland from the promontories of Galloway and Cantire.”

All the arguments here hinted at have been urged before. And I shall not re-answer them now—I have frequently remarked, before, Mr. Macpherson’s repeated inconsistency, in sometimes extending his Caledonia on the south to the Wall of Severus, and in sometimes reducing it to the Friths of Forth and Clyde. And I have also observed, that, as the real Caledonia never included Galloway, no argument, for the passage of the first colonists into Ireland from Galloway, will evince the Caledonian descent of the Irish.—I have repeatedly shewn above, that the name of Gael cannot assist in proving the Irish to be the posterity of the Caledonians. It will equally prove them to have been the posterity of the Gallowese, the Welsh, and the Cornish, and of any tribe in any part of this island.—The correspondence

respondency of language, manners, and customs, betwixt the Irish and Caledonians, is just as good an argument as the community of names before. The language, manners, and customs, of almost all the interior Islanders, have been shewn to be exactly the same.—But the author's management of his argument, with regard to the correspondency of manners and customs, is a little observable. “We must have recourse,” says he, “to the *Caledonian Britons* for the genuine origin of the Irish.” And one reason is, “the conformity of their [the Irish] manners and customs with those”—not of the Caledonian Britons, as it should obviously have been, in contradistinction to all the others, but of “the Old Britons” in general. To prove the *Caledonian* descent of the Irish, Mr. Macpherson alledges the sameness of manners in the Irish and Old Britons.—These arguments therefore, which “all concur in proving beyond any possibility of reply,” that the Irish are the posterity of the Caledonians, are all really beside the mark, and prove something very different from the point intended.

So far I have considered this passage, as it contains a repetition of former arguments. I will now consider it, as an inference from the reply to Father Innes. And, as such, it is in the same strain precisely with the quotation before. Like that, it forgets an intermediate link in the chain

chain of reasoning. What Mr. Macpherson has said, disproves the Spanish and Scandinavian descent of the Irish. And so far it is useful. But it then contends for another, which is just as imaginary as the system of the Fileas or the Hypothesis of the Jesuit. And, in the love of innovation and the prevalence of prejudice, he has overlooked the obvious tendency of his own arguments, and substituted Caledonia for Britain.

P. 92. Mr. Macpherson now proceeds regularly to overthrow the Irish descent of the Scots, and to establish the Caledonian. And I shall attend him regularly in his progress.

P. 92. "The credit of the Milesian tale is already destroyed, and it is perhaps superfluous to refute the pretended Hibernian extraction of the Scots. Both stories depend upon the same authority, and they must both fall by the same argument."

This is certainly not true. The Milesian story concerning the first population of Ireland, and the account of the migration of the Scots from Ireland into Britain, are two incidents that are
founded

founded upon very different authorities. The former rests solely on the credit of writers that never existed, and on the authority of records that were written some ages before the use of Letters was known in the island. The latter is grounded upon the testimony of writers actually or nearly cotemporary with the facts, on histories of the best credit, and on records of the greatest authenticity, Bede, Orosius, and others. And this our author sufficiently acknowledges hereafter. In p. 110 he says, that “the abettors of the Hibernian Antiquities, finding that the credit of the domestic annals of Ireland could never establish this fact, had recourse to some passages of foreign writers.” The Hibernian extraction of the Scots therefore, according to Mr. Macpherson himself, does *not* “depend upon the same authority” with the Milesian tale, and must not “fall by the same argument.” It is fixed, according to himself, upon the additional testimonies of “foreign writers;” and it must be overthrown by a reply to them. And he accordingly cites the authority of Claudian, Orosius, Isidore, and Bede for it, in p. 105, 111, 116, &c., and spends various pages in answering them. So little does the author seem to have had a full view of his plan, as he proceeded in the work; and so little does he seem to have looked

back upon the parts, when he had compleated the whole.

P. 93. "It has already appeared that nothing certain is known concerning the affairs of Ireland, prior to the mission of St. Patrick."

This is a reference to the preceding pages of the work. And, what is very extraordinary, it is directly contradictory to them.—We are here told, that nothing certain is known concerning the affairs of Ireland before the days of St. Patrick. And yet in p. 80 Mr. Macpherson himself argues from Diodorus, that the Irish were Britons; in p. 81 (and again in p. 95) from Tacitus, that in the days of Agricola the Irish were so weak, as to be deemed a ready conquest to a Legion and a competent number of Auxiliaries; in p. 82 from Ptolemy, that the Velaborii, Brigantes, Caucii, and Menapii were some of the tribes of Ireland; in p. 60, 61, 62, and 63, from Strabo, Diodorus, Mela, and Solinus, that the Irish were then rude and uncivilized; and in p. 63 (and again in p. 95) from Tacitus, that in his time the Irish ports were even more frequented by the merchants, and were therefore better known to the world, than the British.

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It gives me pain to remark the gross and repeated contradictions in so ingenious a writer. I strain, I exaggerate nothing. I only collate parts with parts. And the inconsistency, that appears upon the face of these collations, must be attributed, sometimes to his servility to the interests of an Hypothesis, and sometimes to the hastiness and inattention with which he appears to have written his work.

II.

THE author, now setting himself to prove that no Irish colony transmigrated into Britain in or after the reign of Domitian, takes a review of what the Romans have communicated to us concerning the state of Caledonia, from the period to the appearance of the Scots on the frontiers of the province. With this I am but partially concerned. Till it descends to the 4th century, it has no relation to that migration of the Scots into Ireland, which alone

is asserted in the History of Manchester and I wish to defend. And I shall therefore, in pursuing Mr. Macpherson's steps here, only mark occasionally some of the more important mistakes, till he has deduced the history to the proper period.

P. 99. "The incursions of the Caledonians rendered it necessary for that Emperor [Adrian] to come in person into Britain; but that the Barbarians suffered very little loss by his arms we may naturally infer, from his relinquishing to them all that tract of country which extends from the Tine and Solway to the Scottish Friths."

That the incursions of the Caledonians rendered it necessary for Adrian to come into Britain, is not true. And that he relinquished all the country from the Tine and Solway to the Friths, is a mistake.—Adrian went into all the provinces of the empire. *Romanum orbem circumvit*, says Florus with an expressive elegance. Was this occasioned by the Caledonian incursions? He only visited Britain, as he visited Gaul and the other dominions of the Romans.—Nor did he relinquish Valentia to the Caledonians, by building a Wall from Solway to the Tine. This I have fully shewn in the History

of Manchester. And all the region of Valentia remained in the possession of the Romans, to the period of their departure from Britain¹.

P. 100. " Lollius Urbicus, in the reign of
" Antoninus Pius, defeated the Caledonians; and,
" driving them beyond the Forth and Clyde,
" excluded them by an earthen Wall from the
" Roman Britain. Though repelled by Urbi-
" cus,—they were far from being reduced so low
" as to yield a part of their territories to the Ro-
" mans."

This is a great mistake. The Brigantes, or Caledonians, are expressly said by Pausanias to have lost a considerable tract of country, *την πολλήν*, to the Romans at this period. And I have shewn in the History of Manchester, that this consisted of half the region of Caledonia².

P. 101—102. " Severus — marched north-
" ward, with a fixed resolution to exterminate the
" the whole nation of the Caledonians. But—he
" was at last reduced to the old and inglorious
" expedient of building a Wall to exclude from

¹ History of Manchester, p. 453—458.

² P. 454—461, and 418—419.

“ the Province those Barbarians whom he could
 “ neither extirpate or subdue. (Ες φίλιαν επανηλ-
 “ θεν, ες ομολογίαν της Βρεττανης επι τω χωρῳ εκ
 “ ολιγης εκσηναι, αναγκαστως ελθειν. Dion. Cass.
 “ lib. 76.)”

This is, in general, a very unfair representation of the principles and success of Severus's expedition. And it will easily appear to be so, even from Mr. Macpherson himself. — It is here expressly declared, that Severus could not subdue any of the Caledonians. And it is plainly implied, that he relinquished to them all the country to the North of his Wall. “ He
 “ was—reduced to the *old* and *inglorious* expedient of building a Wall to exclude from *the*
 “ *Province* those Barbarians whom he could neither extirpate or subdue.” But Severus actually subdued all the tribes of the Mæatae, and pretty certainly recovered all the conquests of Lollius[†]. And the very quotation, which Mr. Macpherson adduces in proof of his own position, expressly declares the contrary. The quotation says positively, that Severus forced the Caledonians to resign up no small portion of their country to him, χωρῳ εκ ολιγης εκσηναι. And this concurs with many instances before to shew us, how little dependence we can have upon Mr. Macpherson's authorities, even when

[†] See History of Manchester, p. 419.

he recites them fairly at the foot of the page, and has no strong bias to mislead his hand as he copies. — Nor did Severus relinquish Valentia to the Caledonians. When he was advancing with a resolution to reduce all Caledonia, or when he was just returning from the actual reduction of half the country, he could not have been either compelled or invited to resign up Valentia to the enemy. And it remained one of the five provinces of Roman Britain, to the final period of the Roman dominion in the island¹. — Nor was the resolution to exterminate the Caledonians taken up by Severus, before he made his expedition into their country. It was taken up afterwards, when the subjected tribes of Caledonia had thrown off their obedience, and were instantly joined by the rest of the Caledonians. Severus's resentment kindled at the news. He ordered the army immediately, and in the depth of winter, to march to the North under the command of Caracalla, to relieve the garrisons in the stations², which must have been closely besieged, and to spread an universal carnage through the country. And Mr. Macpherson has attributed a design to the first expedition, which was only an order for the second³.

¹ History of Manchester, p. 454.
Hamburgh, 1750, τα φερεται.
p. 419—420.

² Dio, p. 1287,

³ History of Manchester,

P. 94—104. In these pages is contained the first great argument “to prove that no Irish colony transmigrated into Britain in or after the reign of Domitian” (p. 94). And in p. 103—104, we are told thus.—“In the long period which intervened between the accession of the sons of Severus to the imperial dignity, and the middle of the 4th age,—the frequent contests for the purple,—the public distractions which arose naturally from these disputes, the growing imbecillity of the Empire, and the invasions of the Barbarians of the northern Europe, diverted the attention of the Romans from Caledonia. In a period so long, and of such tranquillity, the inhabitants of North Britain, instead of declining, must have greatly multiplied their numbers. In the tenth Consulship of Constantius, the son of Constantine, we meet with the Scots, a formidable nation in Britain. Ammianus Marcellinus, who found them first in the island, does not furnish one obscure hint that they derived their blood from a foreign country.”

This long argument is intended to prove two points; That, in all this period of time, from the reign of Domitian to the middle of the fourth age, the Caledonians were never reduced so much

much, as to have any part of their country sent from them by a colony from Ireland; and That, when the Scots are first mentioned as in the island by Marcellinus, he does not hint that they derived their descent from a foreign country. This is the full sum and substance of the argument. And it is evidently unsatisfactory. To prove that no colony *transmigrated* from Ireland into Britain, he endeavours to shew that no Irish colony *settled* in Britain *by violence*. To prove that the Scots did not come into Britain from Ireland, he intimates that the historian, who first mentions them in Britain, does not say that they came from Ireland. The former is a mere fallacy, the substitution of one term for another. And the latter is merely a negative reason, strangely adduced in support of a positive assertion.

To this clear and short refutation of Mr. Macpherson's great argument, it is proper to add one observation concerning the alledged silence of Marcellinus. He who first found the Scots in this island, it is said, "does not furnish one obscure hint that they derived their blood from a foreign country." But Mr. Macpherson is not aware, that the part of Marcellinus's history, which first noticed the Scots as in Britain, has been long lost to the world. The appearance of them "in the tenth consulship of Constantius," is not the first that they made in the
History

History of Marcellinus. They made one twenty years before it, and in that portion of the history which has been unhappily destroyed. *Consulatu — Constantii decies, terque Juliani, in Britanniiis cum Scotorum Pictorumque, gentium ferarum, excursus, ruptâ quiete conductâ, loca limitibus vicina vastarent, et implicaret formido Provincias præteritarum cladum congerie fessas; hiemem agens apud Parisios, Cæsar—verebatur ire subsidio transmarinis, ut retulimus ante fecisse Constantem*¹. Here we are informed, that the Scots and Picts had recently ravaged the country before 360, that Constans had passed over to repel them, and that Marcellinus had given an account of both these incidents. And he appears to have taken occasion from that incursion into the province, to have expatiated in a long and laboured description of the country which was then invaded, and to have given a particular account of the Scots and Picts who invaded it. *Quoniam, says he himself, cùm Constantis Principis acta componerem, motus adolescentis & senescentis oceani, situmque Britanniae, pro captu virium explanavi, ad ea quæ digesta sunt semel, revolvi superfluum duxi —; illud tamen sufficiet dici, quòd eo tempore Picti—itidemque Attacotti—, et Scotti, per diversa vagantes multa populabantur*². And therefore for

¹ L. xx. c. 1.² L. xxvii. c. 8.

Mr,

Mr. Macpherson to affirm, that Marcellinus, who first found the Scots in Britain, furnishes not one obscure hint of their derivation from a foreign country; is to mistake the time when Marcellinus first finds them in the island, is to assert what is certainly not true, and to adduce an argument in favour of the Caledonian extraction of the Scots, which is equally frivolous in its nature and false in its attestation.

III.

PAG. 105. “ Bede is the first writer who
 “ positively affirms that the Scots of Britain
 “ derived their origin from those of Ireland.
 “ Whether they originally obtained from the
 “ Picts the principality of — Argyle by force or
 “ treaty, was a point which all his historical and
 “ traditional knowledge did not enable the vene-
 “ rable Anglo-Saxon to determine. The inca-
 “ pacity of Bede, who lived so near the pre-
 “ tended

“tended transmigration of the Irish, to solve this
 “difficulty, is a kind of demonstration that the
 “whole story is a fiction, imposed upon that credu-
 “ulous, though pious writer.”

This is surely such an argument, as was never produced before against a respectable historian. And it would be of no avail at all, even against the most irrepectable that ever disgraced the file of historical writers. — Bede's unacquaintedness with the reasons and principles of a great transaction, can never annihilate his credit with regard to the fact itself. Such a great national exploit, as the first settlement of a body of Irish Seots on the coast of Caledonia, is an incident equally notorious and remarkable, that is not only obvious to all that are within the sphere of observation, but calls and compels the attention of all the nations immediately about. The reason of the fact, however, lies much deeper, and is generally known only to the more informed and more inquisitive part of the observers. The one therefore is naturally recorded by many writers. But the other is given only by such, as look beyond the surface of the incident, and search for the springs that operated to produce it. And even historians that are cotemporary with a fact, and that even endeavour to assign the reason and principle of it, are frequently unable, for want of proper information, to ascertain the true one; and different writers attribute

attribute the same incident to different causes. From some of the many, Bede and Richard transcribed the account which they have given us; and the latter, as I have already shewn in the History of Manchester, happily met with the year of the deed precisely ascertained¹. But neither of them found any historian, that had investigated the actuating motive and principle of it. That is left to the conjectural criticisms of later writers. And in the History of Manchester I have guessed at a motive, which has several coincidences of reason and history in its favour, and is therefore in all probability the true and genuine principle².

P. 105—106. “If the Picts were so feeble that
 “a band of Irish adventurers could tear from
 “them one third of their dominions, how came
 “they so frequently to provoke the Roman le-
 “gions, and harass the provincials from the
 “time of Chlorus to the total dereliction of Bri-
 “tain by Honorius? To invade the territories
 “of a warlike and disciplined people when they
 “suffered a great part of their own to be wrested
 “from them by a despicable enemy, is a folly

¹ P. 446.

² P. 447.

“ too

“ too absurd to gain any credit. But perhaps
 “ the Picts gave the district of Argyle to their
 “ allies of Ireland, in consideration of services
 “ against the Romans. These services were ex-
 “ tremely unnecessary; for the Romans, till pro-
 “ voked by incursions, were very inoffensive to-
 “ wards the Barbarians beyond the walls. Na-
 “ tions, in short, have been known to receive fo-
 “ reigners into the bosom of their country to re-
 “ pel invasions, but it is ridiculous to think that
 “ any people would have recourse to so danger-
 “ ous an expedient for the pleasure of harassing
 “ neighbours who did not in any degree offend
 “ them.”

The former was Mr. Macpherson's first argu-
 ment against Bede. This is his second. And it
 is calculated to prove, that the Scots could not
 have settled in Caledonia either by force or
 treaty. But, supposing every part of it to be
 just, the whole is of no moment against a fact
 that is positively asserted by a credible autho-
 rity. Such an argument would not destroy
 the slightest incident of the slightest history
 that ever was written. Though the Scots
 could not settle by force, as indeed I think
 that Mr. Macpherson's reasoning seems strong-
 ly to evince, they might settle by treaty, for
 any reason that is assigned by him. The ser-
 vices of the Scots against the Romans might be
 unnecessary: and yet the Caledonians might
 allow

allow them a portion of land in their country. To invite the Irish into the island merely to attack the inoffensive Romans, might be folly in the Caledonians; and yet they might do it. Mr. Macpherson forgets, that he is arguing, not against the assigned reasons of a fact, but against the existence of the fact itself. Against the former his arguments would carry weight. But they carry none at all against the latter. There are also other modes of settling peaceably in a country, than what is here mentioned. And in the History of Manchester I have suggested one very different from this, and in all probability the true one ².

P. 106—107.—“ It is difficult for the unprejudiced part of mankind to believe, that a colony, sufficient to occupy the western highlands and isles, could have waisted themselves, their wives, and children, at once, from Ireland into the northern Britain, in Currachs or miserable skiffs, whose hulls of wicker were wrapped up in a cow’s hide. In these wretched vessels, it is true, an irregular communication was kept up between both the islands; but the navigation was dangerous, and per-

² P. 447.

“ formed

“ formed only in the fairest days of summer.
 “ (Mare quod Britanniam et Hiberniam inter-
 “ luit, undosum et inquietum, toto in anno non
 “ nisi æstivis pauculis diebus est navigabile : navi-
 “ gant autem vimineis alveis quos circumdant
 “ ambitione tergorum bubulinorum. Solin. xxxv.).
 “ The fertility of the soil of Iar-ghael [Argyle]
 “ could never be an inducement to an Irish
 “ migration into that division of Caledonia. If
 “ poverty, or their being overstocked with num-
 “ bers, compelled the inhabitants of the pre-
 “ tended Dalrietta, or the Route in the county of
 “ Antrim, to go in quest of foreign settlements,
 “ they ought in common prudence to have tried
 “ their fortune in the southern division of their
 “ own country, and not in the sterile mountains
 “ of the western Caledonia¹.”

In making these Extracts, I am obliged to transcribe Mr. Macpherson line by line, in order to give each argument its full play, and to act honourably with him and the reader. And each argument, like this, is a mere Sorites, an accumulation of little reasons, that, inconsiderable in themselves, may appear important in their union. But, in order to answer the whole, I must reduce it into its constituent parts, examine each

¹ So Sir G. Mackenzie, p. 375 and 405, vol. i, asserts the Irish sea to have been generally not navigable in currachs, and also quotes Solinus for it.

separately,

separately, and then see the joint result of all.

The import of the first position is, that no colony of Irish could have migrated into Caledonia, because their vessels were so slight and the navigation so dangerous. This is directly pointed against the assertion of Bede. And, could the former be proved, the latter must be given up.—But, in order to prove it, Mr. Macpherson has introduced a foreign circumstance into the fact. And he argues that no colony of Irish, *sufficient to occupy the western Highlands and isles*, could have come over *at once*. Bede does not assert, that the colony was sufficient to occupy the western Highlands and isles, whether by *occupying* Mr. Macpherson means a forcible reduction or a compleat inhabitation of them. And he is therefore reasoning, not against Bede, but against some writer in nubibus. Bede says thus. *Procedente — tempore Britannia, post Britones et Pictos, tertiam Scottorum nationem in Pictorum parte recepit; qui, duce Reudâ de Hiberniâ progressi, vel amicitia vel ferro sibimet inter eos sedes quas hætenus habent vindicarunt —. Est autem sinus maris permaximus, qui antiquitus gentem Britonum a Pictis secernebat, qui ab occidente in terras longo spatio erumpit, ubi est civitas Britonum munitissima usque hodie, quæ vocatur Alcluith: ad cujus videlicet sinus partem*

N

septen-

septentrionalem Scotti, quos diximus, advenientes, sibi locum patriæ fecerunt¹. Bede, we see, fixes not the Scots along the western Highlands and isles, but merely upon the northern bank of the Clyde. And Mr. Macpherson, involuntarily indeed, has disguised the assertion of Bede in order to overthrow it, and loaded it with an extraordinary circumstance to make it appear extravagant. — Nor is the declaration, concerning the nature of the vessels and navigation, less strained or less unjust. Mr. Macpherson has misrepresented the currachs, describing one of them as contained within the compass of a single hide. But his quotation from Solinus says no such thing: *Vimineis alveis quos circumdant ambitione tergorum bubulinorum*. Each boat was actually lined with several hides. *Carinæ primùm ac statumina*, says Cæsar, *ex levi materiâ fiebant: reliquum corpus navium, viminibus contextum, coriis integebatur*². And Giraldus Cambrensis, mentioning these currachs, which continued to his time in Ireland, and speaking of a small one that went out to sea with two men only, describes it expressly, as *cymbulam modicam, arc-tam, et oblongam, vimineam quidem, et coriis animalium contextam confutamque*³. And for Mr. Macpherson to affirm, that the British currachs were not sufficient to transport over a body

¹ L. i. c. i.² R. 240.³ Topog. Hib. p. 744. Camden.

of men from Ireland, is at once to oppose himself, to deny half the facts in his own *Ossian*, and to contradict the express declarations of history. In p. 225 he assures us, that "the size of those vessels must have been greater than is generally supposed, for the Saxon auxiliaries of Vortigern transported themselves in three of them from Germany to Britain." And, in the preceding parts of the work, we have seen him supposing colonies to have passed over from Gaul into Britain, and from Caledonia into Ireland. Indeed the whole of the author's historical system, before, is founded upon the supposition. And those colonies must have passed in curraghs, as these were the only vessels of the Britons¹. The Irish of the fourth century could not be more uncivilized, more unexperienced in the arts of navigation, than their ancestors many ages before; especially as their ports, according to Mr. Macpherson himself in p. 95, were so particularly frequented by the merchants, even in the first century. And if the great colonies of his Gael, his Cimbri, and his Belgæ, which were sufficient to occupy all Caledonia, all Maxima and Britannia Secunda, and all Britannia Prima and Flavia, if these could cross in curraghs into Britain, and if these could migrate afterwards into Ireland in sufficient numbers to occupy the whole compass of the island; the

¹ *Cæsar*, p. 240, and *Pliny*, l. iv. c. 16.

Irish could certainly remigrate in them as well to the coast of Caledonia, and even in numbers sufficient to occupy the western Highlands and isles. In his own *Offian* also, as I have already observed in the *History of Manchester*¹, we see little armies continually transported in these vessels from Caledonia to Ireland and from Ireland to Caledonia. And, as the first colonists of Britain must necessarily have wafted over the intermediate channels in curraghs, so in *Gildas* we see the Picts and Scots of the fifth century hastily crossing with them the Friths of Forth and Clyde². We find the Britons of the first expressly declared by *Lucan*, to have navigated the seas about them in their curraghs³. Succours were sent in them from South-Britain into Gaul, in the days of *Cæsar*⁴. And a great army was transported in them even by *Cæsar* himself, across the very rapid current of the *Sicoris* in Spain⁵. These facts equally de-

¹ P. 381.

² *Hist. c. xv.* Emergunt certatim de Curicis, quibus sunt trans Tithicam vallem vecti.

³ Sic *Venetus* itagnante Pado, fusoque Britannus Oceano. And *Pliny* says thus in l. iv. c. 16. *Timæus* historicus a Britannia introrsus sex dierum navigatione abesse dicit insulam *Mictim*—, ad eam Britannos vitilibus navigiis corio circumfusus navigare.

⁴ *Cæsar*, p. 73, Omnibus fere Gallicis bellis, hostibus nostris inde subministrata auxilia intelligebat.

⁵ *Milites* his navibus flumen transportat. *Cæsar*, p. 240.
monstrate

monstrate against Mr. Macpherson the sufficiency of the British currachs for the embarkation of armies, and evince against Solinus the general navigableness of the Irish channel by them. If these sea-boats could live in the channel between Gaul and Britain, they could equally live in the sea betwixt Britain and Ireland. If they could cross the British Channel laden with troops, they could equally in the same circumstances cross the Irish. If, thus laden, they were able to stem the heady current of a narrow river, swelled with all the melting snows of the mountains¹; they must have been equally able to stem the current of St. George's channel. And we accordingly see them in Ossian, as I have observed before, perpetually passing from Ireland to Caledonia and from Caledonia to Ireland².

Thus is one great part of the argument answered. And this indeed is by much the strongest. The other is, That no colony of Irish could have been induced to settle in Argyle, because of its natural barrenness. But this sort

¹ Cæsar, p. 237.

² In Ossian, vol. ii. p. 212, Mr. Macpherson himself observes thus: "One thing is certain, that the Caledonians *often* made their way through the dangerous and tempestuous seas of Scandinavia, which is more, perhaps, than the more polished nations, subsisting in those times, dared to venture." And Mr. Macpherson makes the Caledonians the ancestors of the Irish.

of problematical arguments may be propagated ad infinitum, and equally on either side of an historical question. And they are of no consequence at all, either way, as to the fact. The Scots may have passed over into the western Caledonia, though the fertility of the country could be no inducement. The Irish of Dalrieta may have settled in Argyle, though the south of Ireland was more attracting. And History expressly assures us that they did.

P. 107. "The Irish must have been wonderfully improved in military knowledge from the days of Agricola, if it was more difficult [for the Irish of Dalrieta] in the fourth century to extort part of their dominions from them, than from the Caledonians, who had better opportunities to be enured to arms."

This argument is directed only against the supposition of the Scots settling by force in Caledonia. But that is too improbable in itself, to be supposed by any who are conversant with the histories of Caledonia and Ireland. And it stands directly refuted by the well-known concurrence of the Caledonians and Irish settlers, in incursions into the Roman province, within a few years only after the settlement. The great point

at which Mr. Macpherson should direct his arguments is, That the Irish could not have fixed themselves in Argyle by the consent of the Caledonians. And for this purpose he should specify all the various modes of settling amicably in a country, and shew the impossibility, or at least the high improbability, of each of these with respect to the Caledonians and the Irish.

P. 107—108. “ Should it be supposed that a
 “ band of adventurers were expelled from Ulster
 “ by the pressure of the southern Irish, it is
 “ difficult to account how the Picts of Britain
 “ should receive the fugitives. Either generosity
 “ or selfishness would have prompted them — to
 “ assist the exiles in recovering their territories,
 “ and, by that means, to endeavour to conquer a
 “ part of a fine country for themselves. But the
 “ Picts were, it seems, strangers to the most com-
 “ mon maxims of policy ; for, according to the
 “ system under consideration, they must have
 “ been of all nations the most tame, prodigal, and
 “ imprudent.”

This is exactly in the same tenour and spirit as one or two arguments before. The Caledonians might be of all nations the most tame, prodigal, and imprudent, if the fact was true : and

yet this, if properly authenticated, would stand unimpeached.

P. 108—109. “The Saxon auxiliaries of
 “Vortigern were not so modest as the Irish Scots;
 “or else the Picts were a people of much less
 “spirit than the southern Britons. When the
 “Saxons raised their demands to an unreasonable
 “height, the Britons disputed with them every
 “inch of ground—. Had the Hibernian merce-
 “naries incroached upon the Picts, as the Sax-
 “ons did on the Britons, we might naturally
 “suppose that the latter [the Picts], instead of
 “carrying war and desolation into a foreign
 “country, in conjunction with the Scots, would
 “have found employment for their arms at
 “home. The unanimity in expedition which
 “subsisted for ages between the Caledonian
 “nations, is proof sufficient that they derived
 “their origin from one and the same source.”

This is the sixth argument against Bede's asser-
 tion, of a settlement of Scots upon the western
 shore of Caledonia. But it is obviously pointed
 only against a settlement by violence. It is there-
 fore of no moment against the peaceable and
 amicable establishment of the Scots in Cale-
 donia.

But

But there are some particulars mentioned in the course of the argument, which it may be proper to notice.—The author alledges the joint expeditions of the Caledonian Scots and native Caledonians into the Roman province, as a proof that the former did not settle in the country by violence. And yet, when he draws his conclusion, he infers not that the Scots settled amicably in Caledonia, but that the Scots and Caledonians were “of one and the same source.”—He concludes them both to have been “of one and the same source,” because they associated in incursions into the Province. I have urged the argument before, in proof of the Scots settling themselves in Caledonia with the consent of the natives. And this is all that it proves. Two nations of a different origin, being fixed in the same country, might naturally unite in expeditions against a common enemy.—And, what is still more remarkable, Mr. Macpherson in the former parts of his work has strenuously endeavoured to derive the Irish from the Caledonians; and the Scots must therefore, according to his own system, be “of one and the same source” with the Caledonians, even if they came over from Ireland. So little is one great part of his system united with another. And so little do the conclusion and premises agree together.

THESE

THESE are the arguments by which the authority of Bede, concerning the primary derivation of the Scots into Britain, is supposed to be overthrown. And each of them, it is obvious, is without the smallest force. The reasons urged against an establishment by violence are convincing in themselves, but carry no conclusiveness in them with regard to the main point. And the reasons advanced against an establishment by consent are all vague and frivolous. There are various kinds of amicable settlements; and the author should have endeavoured to set them all aside. But he has mentioned only one or two. And he has particularly omitted that which I have mentioned in the History of Manchester, and which was in all probability the very kind of amicable establishment that took place upon the present occasion ¹.

¹ History of Manchester, p. 447.

IV.

HAVING now advanced his six arguments against Bede, Mr. Macpherson proceeds to overthrow the cited authorities of foreign writers. And Claudian comes first.

P. 111—112. “That poet, in his panegyric on Theodosius, has the following lines,

“ Quid rigor æternus cœli ; quid sidera profunt,
 “ Ignotumque Fretum ? Maduerunt Saxone fuso
 “ Orcades : incaluit Pictorum sanguine Thule :
 “ Scottorum cumulos flevit glacialis Ierne.

“ But we may venture to affirm, that there is
 “ nothing in this passage conclusive in favour of
 “ the old Milesian tale [the extraction of the Scots
 “ from Ireland].—It is idle—to search for fact
 “ in the hyperboles of poetry ; Marcellinus,
 “ though particularly fond of Theodosius, has
 “ not recorded these prodigies of valour : even
 “ Latinus Pacatius, though a Panegyrist, says no
 “ more, than that the Scot was driven back to
 “ his

" his native fens (redactum in paludes suas Scot-
 " tum. Latin. Pacat. in Panegy. Theod.), and
 " the Saxon destroyed in conflicts by sea. — If
 " the Hibernians were of Caledonian extract ; if,
 " from the ancient ties of consanguinity, a friend-
 " ly intercourse was maintained between the Irish
 " and the inhabitants of Albany ; a person of a
 " less warm imagination than Claudian might
 " suppose that the former sincerely lamented the
 " misfortunes of their mother nation."

In this argument against the customary and
 obvious application of the passage in Claudian,
 is one thing intimated and another asserted. It
 is asserted, that the account in Claudian is not
 confirmed by any other writer, and must there-
 fore be considered as the exaggeration of poetry.
 And it is intimated, that if Ireland was peopled
 from Caledonia, and if the Irish kept up a friendly
 intercourse with the Caledonians, Ierne might
 with propriety be said to lament the carnage of
 the Scots, though these Scots were not derived
 from Ireland, and though they were native Ca-
 ledonians.

The assertion is not true. Latinus Pacatus,
 even as quoted and interpreted by Mr. Macpher-
 son, clearly gives us the substance of what
 Claudian has more fully opened. Latinus de-
 stroys the Saxons " in conflicts by sea : " Claudian
 fixes the conflicts at the Orkney islands ;

Quid

Quid rigor æternus cœli, quid sidera profunt,
Ignotumque fretum? Maduerunt Saxone fuso
 Orcades.

Latinus has omitted the Picts, who were undoubtedly and confessedly concerned: Claudian more accurately has noticed them. Latinus drives back the Scots to their native bogs, *reductum in paludes suas*; an expression, not suited at all to the mountains of Argyle, but highly characteristic of the plains of Ireland: and Claudian mentions the Scots as the sons of Ireland, and makes a great carnage of them. And where, especially with regard to the last and main point, is the difference betwixt the poetical and prosaical historian? And where is the Hyperbole and warm imagination of Claudian? His colouring is stronger: but his texture is the same as Latinus's. And it appears from both, that the Irish at this period were repelled in an invasion of Britain, and that Ireland lost a number of her troops in this unfortunate expedition.—Mr. Macpherson's assertion therefore, that Claudian's account is not confirmed by any other writer, is not true. And it carries no force with it, if it was. Though the account in Claudian had not been corroborated by any one else, the facts in him might yet be real. And his own testimony would have been sufficient to authenticate the whole.

But

But Ireland, it is objected, may with a just poetical propriety be said to lament the slaughter even of the Caledonians, if Ireland was peopled from Caledonia, and if the Irish and Caledonians maintained a friendly intercourse together. If both these facts were true, one of which Mr. Macpherson has vainly attempted to prove before, and the other he now supposes only; and even if Claudian was acquainted with both; such an introduction of Ireland, as Claudian here makes of Ierne, would certainly be absurd. It would be absurd in its own nature, as poetry is not to point at distant and generally unknown relations in its personifications, but only the near and the known. The former would give such an obscurity to the best imagery of historical poetry, as would totally prevent its effect. And, if we allowed ourselves to interpret an historical poet in this manner, we might pervert the whole system of history. But it would be peculiarly absurd in the present passage. Claudian speaks of three distinct nations, the Saxons, the Picts, and the Scots; and by his personifications assigns them three distinct countries, the Orkneys, where the Saxons appear to have settled^{*}, Thule or Caledonia, and Ierne or Ireland. And shall Mr. Macpherson, for the sake of gratifying the national prejudice of his

^{*} Nennius, c. 37.

countrymen,

countrymen, confound this obvious distinction, and make the Scots of Ierne and the Picts of Thule one and the same people, and inhabitants of one and the same country? And shall the slaughtered heaps of the Scots, for which Ierne is represented as mourning, be only the same with the bleeding Picts of Thule? Criticism and Common-sense equally concur to forbid it.

There is, it should be observed in justice to Claudian and the truth, a striking propriety and precision in the expressions of this passage. Theodosius fitted out a navy, and attacked the Saxons of the Orkneys. Theodosius marched with an army, and invaded Caledonia. And the expressions carry the greatest adaptedness to these two incidents. The Orkneys are actually besmeared with the gore of the Saxons. And Caledonia is actually bathed in the blood of the Picts. But Ireland was not attacked or invaded. The Irish were themselves invaders. And the language is varied accordingly. The two images, that referred before to actual engagements in the Orkneys and Caledonia, are now dismissed, and another is adopted which speaks only of the consequence and effect of the engagement to Ierne, of the sorrow which the news of the defeat diffused among the tribes of Ireland. And such an exactness as this serves strongly to prove the historical fidelity of Claudian, amid all his poetical imagery.

P. 113—115. “ In Claudian’s Panegyric on
 “ Stilicho, there is a passage which has been
 “ often transcribed with triumph in opposition
 “ to the antiquity of the British Scots.

“ Me quoque vicinis pereuntem gentibus inquit,
 “ Munivit Stilicho, totam cum Scottus Iernam
 “ Movit ; et infesto spumavit remige Tethys.
 “ Illius effectum curis, ne bella timerem
 “ Scottica, nec Pictum tremere, nec littore toto
 “ Prospicerem dubiis venientem Saxona ventis.

“ — There is no necessity to believe that the
 “ Poet adhered to historical fact. Virgil, with-
 “ out any authority, extended the victories of
 “ Augustus to nations, whom neither He nor
 “ his lieutenants ever looked in the face : and
 “ why should not the same privilege of invention,
 “ exaggeration, and flattery be allowed to the lau-
 “ reat of Honorius ?”

The point which Mr. Macpherson has under-
 taken to prove in the present Section is, that this
 and the preceding passage of Claudian have been
 misapplied by the criticks who assert the Irish
 extraction of the Scots. “ The abettors of the
 “ Hibernian Antiquities,” he says in his entrance
 upon the examination of Claudian, “—had re-
 “ course to some passages of foreign Writers,
 “ which

"which *they wrested to their purpose*" (p. 110). But, instead of proving that the passages are wrested, he "ventures to affirm, that there is "nothing in" the former "passage conclusive" against him, and begs leave to suppose that the latter is full of "invention, exaggeration, "and flattery." And, if this would be as readily granted as it is easily affirmed and supposed, the Gordian knot would be untied at once. But, if it is denied, Mr. Macpherson is just where he was before, and the two passages still bear directly against his Hypothesis.

Mr. Macpherson however argues, that because Virgil did therefore Claudian might invent, exaggerate, and flatter. But the two cases are very unlike. What Virgil says was entirely prophetic in its designation, and was a little prophetic in reality. Placing himself many centuries before the reign of Augustus, he predictively delineates the glories of that Emperor. And, as his career of honour was not yet run, Virgil adds imaginary to real victories, and anticipates the conquests which he might afterwards make. But Claudian's situation was widely different: He compliments his Emperor upon facts only, that were already performed and had recently happened. And if, in a poem so immediately retrospective, he had specified any particular transactions that had not happened, his compliment must have been spoiled by his folly,

O

and

and all the court and all the Empire have been equal witnesses of his falsehood.

P. 114—115. "We may safely affirm, that
 "the Tethys of Claudian was rather agitated
 "into a foam by Saxon than by Hibernian oars.
 "The Saxons, in the days of Honorius, were
 "in some measure a maritime people: Tethys
 "signifies the Ocean: the sea between Germany
 "and England has some right to that title, but
 "the channel between Ireland and Caledonia
 "was never dignified with so high a name. This
 "criticism is sufficient to destroy the whole force
 "of the argument drawn from Claudian."

This formidable argument is surely a mere accumulation of impertinences. — The Saxons, even more than a century before the days of Honorius, were not only "in some measure a maritime people," but were remarkably expert in the arts of navigation. Such they are well known to have been in the days of Carausius. And such they continued as late as the days of Sidonius:

Saxona,—cul pelle salum fulcare Britannum
 Ludus.

—But the verbal criticism here is more observable. Mr. Macpherson has repeatedly supposed before, that Claudian, even in a retrospective

spective compliment on a recent and notorious event, transgressed the bounds of reality, and threw in imaginary incidents; and that therefore we could not reason from any, even, of the facts which are recorded by him. And yet here Mr. Macpherson can reason from his use of words only. We are taught before by our author, that "it is idle to search for fact in the Hyperboles of poetry." And yet here he himself searches for a fact in some lines, which he supposes to be so hyperbolical, as to be full of "invention, exaggeration, and flattery;" and even searches for it in a criticism upon a single word. If Claudian looks unfriendly upon his Hypothesis, even his particular and recent incidents are all hyperbole and fancy. But if he can be brought to cast the coldest look of favour upon it, even his language, even a word confessedly poetical, is neither hyperbolical nor poetical any more.—So far for consistency: now for propriety. Tethys, it is said, signifies Ocean, a name by which the channel between Ireland and Caledonia was never dignified. And this criticism, we are triumphantly told, "is sufficient to destroy the whole force of the argument drawn from Claudian." But, unhappily for the author, the fact is as untrue as the criticism is trifling. The channel between Ireland and Caledonia is expressly called the Ocean by Ptolemy. *Αρχαίας πλευράς περιγραφη,*

ης υπερκειται ΩΚΕΑΝΟΣ καλεμενος Δευκαλεδονιος.

And to shew what he means by the northern side of Britain, to the north of which lay the Deucaledonian Ocean, Ptolemy begins with the Novantium Promontorium or Mull of Galloway in his progress to the North, ranges up the coast to Faro Head as the northern side of the island, and places the Deucaledonian Ocean along it.

P. 115. "It appears not from history that
"the Scots ever infested the Roman division of
"Britain by sea: Constantine appointed an of-
"ficer called Comes Littoris Saxonici, to take
"the charge of that part of the coast of the
"Province, which was most exposed to the pi-
"ratical depredations of the Saxons; but of a
"Comes Littoris Scotici or Hibernici we have
"never heard."

This is a very feeble argument, I think, and very feebly pointed. It begins with a positive assertion which is not true. And it ends with an inference of reason which is not just. Though we have heard of a Comes Littoris Saxonici, and have not of a Comes Littoris Hibernici, yet it does not thence follow that the Irish did never invade the shores of Britain. We might not have heard of the one, and yet might of the other. And the Sax-

on

on ravages in Britain might be a long repetition of invasions, and therefore occasion the appointment of a particular officer to guard against them; while the Irish might be only a few descents, and would therefore produce no such appointment. And this appears to have been actually the case. The Irish actually "infested the Roman division of Britain by sea." But they infested it only twice with an armament; once in the days of Theodosius the Elder, and again in the time of Stilicho. And the latter invasion extended even along the whole western shore of the Province, from Lancashire to the Lands end¹.

P. 115—116. "If the province of Valentia
"comprehended the country between the Walls,
"why did not the Hibernian Scots land every
"other season in Galloway? How came not the
"Irish rovers to attempt a descent in either of
"the division of Wales or in Cumberland?
"Was not the coast of Lancashire almost as
"near to the isle of Man, which, according to
"Orosius, was possessed by Scottish tribes, as
"any part of the continent of Caledonia was

¹ History of Manchester, p. 458—460.—In supposing therefore the invasion in the days of Stilicho to have been the first, p. 458, I was led by probability, but forgot a fact.

“ to Ireland? Why, in the name of wonder,
 “ was a bulwark of turf and stone a better
 “ security against the Irish Scots than against
 “ the Saxons of Friezeland or Holland, as both
 “ were transmarine nations with respect to the
 “ Province? Why did the Irish, with a peculiar
 “ absurdity, land always on the wrong side of
 “ the Roman Walls, which they must have scaled
 “ or destroyed before they could penetrate into
 “ the Province? It is impossible to believe that
 “ all their expeditions could have been so ill
 “ concerted; and this consideration alone is suf-
 “ ficient to demonstrate, that the Scots, whom
 “ the Roman writers so often mention, were inha-
 “ bitants of Caledonia. Walls were constructed
 “ and legions employed to defend the Province
 “ from their incursions, but fleets were never
 “ fitted out to intercept or destroy them at
 “ sea.”

The author has here confounded himself, by
 not attending to the very plain distinction be-
 twixt the Scots that came directly from Ireland
 to invade the Province, and the Scots that were
 previously settled in Caledonia. The bulwarks
 of turf and stone were never raised against the
 former, any more than against the Saxons. And
 the Irish expeditions were not so ill concerted, as
 Mr. Macpherson supposes them on the common

† So Sir George Mackenzie argues, more confinedly, in
 p. 377:

system to have been. They generally invaded the Province from their settlement in Argyle, and were accompanied by the Picts. But they twice made an invasion of it directly from Ireland. And this is a full answer to this series of Questions, why the Scots of Ireland did not land in some of the countries to the South of the Walls. They did. In the days of Stilicho particularly, leaving "the country between the Walls" to be ravaged by their brethren of Argyle and the Picts, they made a descent on the provinces that were inaccessible to them, landed in both "of the divisions of Wales," and now for the first time possessed themselves of "the isle of Man." This is related to us by Nennius in these two passages. Mailcunius magnus Rex apud Britones regebat, id est, in regione Guenedotiae, quia atavus illius Cunedag cum filiis suis—Scotos cum ingentissimâ clade expulerat ab istis regionibus, et nunquam reversi fuerunt iterum ab habitandum^r.—Buile autem tenuit Euboniam insulam cum suis [the isle of Man, see c. 2.]; filii autem Vethan obrinuerunt regionem Dimectorum, ubi civitas est quæ vocatur Mineu [Menevia or St. David's]; et in aliis regionibus se dilataverunt, i. e. Guiher Cet Gueily [to Caer Kidwelly in Caermarthenshire], donec expulsi sunt a Cunedâ & a filiis ejus ab omnibus regionibus

^r C. 64.

bus Britannicis¹. And here we see the Scots actually landing in the southern division of Britain, actually making conquests in North and South Wales, and actually repelled from both with great slaughter.

Nor were they only beaten from the land. A fleet was "fitted out to destroy them at sea." This appears plainly from a passage of Claudian, which Mr. Macpherson himself has quoted in a Note to p. 112—113. It is there said of Theodosius the Elder, that

Scottum—vago mucrone secutus,
Fregit Hyperboreas remis audacibus undas.

And here Mr. Macpherson himself acknowledges, that Theodosius "pursues the Scots sword in hand into the Hyperborean Ocean." A navy was fitted out by Theodosius to destroy the fleet of Irish and Saxon vessels, which chased the former into the northern Ocean, obliged them to retire into the northern ports of Ireland, and then attacked and destroyed the latter at the Orkneys². And the sea to the North of Ireland is expressly denominated the Hyperborean Ocean by Ptolemy.

C. 8.

² See Latinus and Claudian before.

Mr. Macpherson here gives over his *critical remarks* and *conclusive arguments*, as he calls them, against the customary application of these passages in Claudian. And what has he said against it? That Claudian has perhaps invented and exaggerated facts; that he uses, however, no exaggerated language; and that therefore his Tethys or Ocean cannot signify the channel betwixt Ireland and Caledonia, when the channel is expressly called Ocean by Ptolemy: and that the Scots never landed to the South of the Walls, never infested the southern division of Britain by sea, and were never attacked or pursued at sea by the Romans; when they actually invaded the Provinces by sea in the days of Theodosius, actually landed in North and South Wales, and ravaged all the western shore of Britain, in the days of Stilicho, and were actually pursued by the Roman navy of Theodosius to the North of Ireland.

V.

HAVING deprived the opposite system, as he imagines, of every support from Claudian ; Mr. Macpherson proceeds to examine the passages of other writers, that have been employed in the same service.

P. 116. " If Orosius, a Spanish priest, found the Scots in Ireland about the beginning of the fifth age, Marcellinus met with them in Britain about the middle of the third."

This is all that is said against the testimony of Orosius. And it is evidently nothing. Mr. Macpherson has undertaken to shew, that these passages of foreign writers are *wrested* from their natural signification, when they are applied to prove the Irish derivation of the Scots of Britain (see p. 110.). But the authority of Orosius has been cited only to prove, that all the inhabitants of Ireland, from one end of the isle to another, were denominated Scots. And his words fully evince it: Hibernia insula — a Scotorum genti-

bus colitur'. In opposition to this, Mr. Macpherson alledges only, that there were Scots in Britain more than 150 years before. This may be true, and the other not be false. And history actually shews it; Orosius and other historians declaring the Irish to have been all denominated Scots in the fourth and fifth ages, and Bede and others asserting a party of these Scots to have migrated into Caledonia. Orosius, therefore, still adheres to the cause in which he has been so long engaged. He shews Ireland to have been the general residence of the Scottish tribes, when there was only a single nation of them in Caledonia. And Bede and others evince the migration of this from thence.—Nor did Marcellinus meet with the Scots in Britain about the middle of the *third* century. He first mentions them after the middle of the *fourth*, and under the year 360².

P. 116—118. “ Isidore of Seville, who flourished in the seventh age, says, that in his time, Ireland was indiscriminately called Scottia and Hibernia—. Isidore is not the first learned prelate who gave to Ireland the name of Scottia; a bishop of Canterbury, about the

¹ P. 28, Havercamp.

² L. xx. c. i.

“ year

“ year 605, bestowed upon that island the same
 “ appellation. We shall not dispute with the
 “ Irish that their country received the name of
 “ Scottia some centuries before it was appropri-
 “ ated to Caledonia. But no argument can arise
 “ in favour of their superior antiquity from that
 “ priority. A colony of the antient Grecians
 “ possessed themselves of a district of the Lesser
 “ Asia, which afterwards obtained the name of
 “ Ionia. That colony, and their ancestors in
 “ Greece, for a series of ages, were called Ioni-
 “ ans, but their territories in Europe never
 “ possessed the appellation of Ionia; and from
 “ that circumstance, will any man conclude, that
 “ the Ionians of Ephesus and Miletus were more
 “ antient than those of Attica?”

If Ireland “ received the name of Scottia some
 “ centuries before it was appropriated to Cale-
 “ donia,” as Mr. Macpherson acknowledges,
 then the conclusion surely lies very fair and pro-
 bable, that Ireland was the seat of the Scots some
 centuries before Caledonia. And, even if any
 one instance could be produced to the contrary,
 such a single and solitary incident could not take
 away the general tendency of the argument. But
 no such is here given. And Mr. Macpherson’s
 parallel is by no means exact. It wants two
 essential points of coincidence.

The

The author's *insinuated* hypothesis here, for he has not ventured to *affirm* it, is this, That the Scots were originally natives of Caledonia, that they first peopled Ireland, that they there retained their original appellation of Scots, and that they appear bearing the name some centuries before the Caledonians¹. This hypothesis indeed is very wild, as it supposes the colonists to retain a name which their ancestors never appear to have borne, and as it makes the children to have been known by their parental appellation some centuries before the parent herself. And the parallel is to be adapted to this. But it is very different. The natives of Attica were denominated Iones, before they settled a colony in the Lesser Asia: but Mr. Macpherson has not shewn, or attempted to shew, the Caledonians to have been called Scots, before their supposed migration into Ireland. The Attic colonists natu-

¹ So Sir George Mackenzie in p. 387 intimates, that the name of Scot belonged to the Caledonians before the Irish, and was probably communicated by the former to the latter. Dr. Mackenzie also, in the preface to his *Lives of Scots Writers*, p. 2—8, attempts to prove Ireland to have been originally peopled by the Caledonians under the name of Scots. And Abercromby says, p. 2. vol. i, that Dr. Mackenzie bids very fair to prove, that there are greater presumptions for believing those of Ireland to have come from the Scots in North-Britain, than that the Scots in North-Britain were derived from those in Ireland.

rally settled in Asia under the denomination of their ancestors, and even retained the name when their ancestors had resigned it for another: But, as the Caledonians appear not to have originally possessed the appellation of Scots, so they actually obtained it some centuries after the Irish. These are the two essential points upon which the parallel was to run. But it grossly fails in both. And Mr. Macpherson himself acknowledges it to fail, allowing "the colony and their ancestors in Greece, for a series of ages," to have been "called Ionians," and yet confessing "the country of the Irish to have received the name of Scottia some centuries before it was appropriated to Caledonia."

This argument therefore is of no moment. And the use that has been made of Isidore's authority stands unimpeached. But the author has made one or two mistakes in the argument, which it may be proper to rectify.

Mr. Macpherson reasons, not upon the national appellation of Scoti or Scots, but on the territorial denomination of Scotia, as if the latter was different from the former, and as if his argument derived a greater weight from this direction of it. "Isidore — says that — Ireland was indiscriminately called Scottia and Hibernia.—We shall not dispute with the Irish that their country received the name of Scottia some centuries, before

“before it was appropriated to Caledonia. But
 “— a colony of the ancient Grecians possessed
 “themselves of a district of Lesser Asia, which
 “afterwards obtained the name of Ionia. That
 “colony, and their ancestors in Greece, for a
 “series of ages, were called Ionians, but their
 “territories in Europe never possessed the appel-
 “lation of Ionia.” This is surely a very strange
 direction of the reasoning. If that colony and
 their ancestors in Greece were called Ionians,
 their territories both in Europe and Asia must
 have possessed the appellation of Ionia. And
 the territorial denomination must have com-
 menced with the national in both. Isidore ac-
 cordingly, who mentions the territorial name of
 Scotia, mentions also the national appellation of
 Scoti. Coinciding exactly in his words with Oro-
 sius above, Isidore, even as quoted by Mr. Mac-
 pherson himself, says: *Scottia eadem & Hiber-*
nia—; Scottia autem quòd ab Scotorum genti-
bus colitur.

And Mr. Macpherson has forgotten in the
 course of his reply to each single authority, that
 the notions which he combats do not rely upon
 the credit of any of these historians, sepa-
 rately taken, but on the united force and col-
 lective import of all. If Orosius, Isidore, and
 others assure us, that Ireland was inhabited by
 the Scots in their time, and that it was therefore
 denominated

denominated Scotia as well as Hibernia; this forms a strongly presumptive argument, that Ireland was the primary and general seat of the Scots for ages before. But when Bede and others inform us, that Ireland was the original country of the Scots, and that the few who lived in a narrow confined corner of Caledonia, passed over from Ireland to settle there; this reflects a luster back upon the former assertion, and what before was only presumptive now becomes certain. And all unite to form these important truths, That the Irish first bore the appellation of Scots, and first communicated it to their own country; that they afterwards settled in Caledonia, and gradually extended their own name over it; and that at last, as in the case of the Ionians above, the colony retained the primæval appellation of their ancestors, when the parent had lost it.

P. 121—128. Mr. Macpherson having fairly shewn in p. 118—120, that Gildas's authority is not in reality against his scheme; he once more returns to Bede, as he finds his testimony once more positively against him. And, as before he endeavoured to set aside his assertions from his uncertainty concerning the reasons of the facts asserted,

asserted, &c., so here he attempts to overthrow his authority by pointing out several mistakes in him.

P. 121—122. “Whether the Irish Scots obtained settlements of the Picts by force or favour was a point which Bede could not determine. He was however informed that they were called Dalreudini, from their illustrious leader Reuda, and from the Gallic word *Deal*, which, according to the venerable writer, signified a portion or division of a country. (—It is to be observed that *Deal* does not signify a portion or division).”

This, the first argument against Bede, has been equally urged with another view by Dr. Macpherson in the Critical Dissertations¹. But, even if it be just, it is of no weight against the authority of Bede. He might be a faithful historian, and yet a very indifferent linguist. And he might be very authentic in his account of the Irish migration into Caledonia, and yet be mistaken in his interpretation of an Irish or Caledonian word. What, however, shall we say to these criticks in

¹ P. 53.

the Gallic, if, after all, they are mistaken and Bede is right? We have seen several reasons before to apprehend, that these gentlemen, who set themselves up as peculiarly qualified to write the antient history of our island, because of their accurate acquaintance with its antient language, are but imperfectly acquainted with it. And we have seen them particularly speaking before of the British, from the view merely of a part of it, and from the knowledge only of one of its dialects. But we see them both more ridiculously speaking here, from a view merely of a part of a part, and from a knowledge only of half a dialect, from an acquaintance with the Irish or Erse, as it is spoken only in the Highlands of Scotland. For, in the Erse of Ireland, Deal or Dal, does signify a portion or division. Bede's assertion, that it so signified in his time, would certainly be a strong presumption that it did, even if it had lost that meaning now. But it has not lost it. The word and its derivatives run through the whole Irish language, and occur in various shapes and forms, all referring to the original idea of division. Deillim and Dealuighim signifies to part or divide, Dailthe and Dealuighthe signifies parted or divided, Deilt and Dealachd means a parting or division, and Duil, Dail, and Dal means a division or share. Hence Dail or Dal also signifies in Irish a tribe of people and the region belonging to it; as in Dal-cais, a
name

name for the tribe of Cormac-cais, and in Dal-araidhe, Dal-fiatach, and Dal-riada, the names of three large territories in Ulster. And the word is not confined to the Irish language. It occurs equally in the Welsh of Howel Dha and the English of the present day, in the Diler or divider of that great legislator¹, and in the Saxon-British Dealer, To Deal, A Deal, and A Dole, amongst ourselves. The word is so far from not being British, that it appears uncommonly diffused through the British language; forming a large variety of words in the Irish, remaining in the Welsh of the tenth century, and continuing in some of the most familiar words amongst ourselves at present. And how grossly mistaken is Mr. Macpherson, and also his friend and fellow-labourer, even in their own arrogated province of Celtic etymology!

P. 122. "It is remarkable, that not one
 "English or Scottish antiquary ever implicitly
 "adopted every part of the Anglo-Saxon's system.
 "The Picts and Scots according to him, as separate nations, and from very different origins,
 "possessed North Britain before the commencement of the Christian æra. Camden, Usher,
 "the two Lloyds, Stillingfleet, Innes, and many

¹ P. 139. Wotton's Howel.

“ more, rejected some one part or other, and
 “ some the whole of Bede’s account of the South-
 “ ern Britons; but all these learned men received
 “ without examination his system of the Hiber-
 “ nian extraction of the British Scots.”

This argument is very trifling. And Bede’s account, of the derivation of the Southern Britons, may be justly rejected either in part or in whole; and yet his extraction of the Scots may be depended upon. The settlement of the former in the island, was long before the existence of records. But the establishment of the latter was within the period of history. For the Scots are not fixed in North-Britain by Bede “ before the commencement of the Christian “ æra.” In tracing the origin of the five several nations that were then settled in Britain, He begins with the Britons, proceeds to the Picts, and, to give the large account of the Romans and Saxons in one entire and unbroken series, immediately passes to the Scots, and then enters upon the Romans. And He gives us the origin of the Britons, the Picts, and the Scots, in a manner that exactly corresponds with this idea, and that strikingly distinguishes the antiquity and recentness of their respective settlements in Britain. Concerning the migration of the Britons and Picts into this island, he expressly speaks with a dubious reference to popular
 opinions

opinions and traditionary history. But of the migration of the Scots he speaks peremptorily and positively, as peremptorily as he does of the Roman invasion of the island, and as positively as of the Saxon settlement upon it. In primis — hæc insula Britones solum — incolas habuit, qui de tractu Armorico, *ut fertur*, Britanniam advecti. — Contigit gentem Pictorum de Scythiâ, *ut perhibent*, — Oceanum ingressam, &c. Procedente autem tempore Britannia, post Britones & Pictos, tertiam Scottorum nationem in Pictorum parte recepit, qui, duce Reudâ de Hiberniâ progressi, vel amicitia vel ferro sibimet inter eos fedes quas hætenus habent vindicarunt —. Hibernia propriè patria Scottorum est : ab hac egressi, ut diximus, tertiam in Britanniâ Brittonibus et Pictis gentem addiderunt¹.

P. 122—123. “Where we have an opportunity to examine Bede’s account by the criterion of collateral history, we find that he has committed a very essential mistake. The Southern Britons were so far from deriving their blood from the inhabitants of Armorica, that, on the contrary, the Armoricans had transmigrated from Britain not many ages be-

¹ L. i. c. i.

“ fore Bede’s own time. If Bede therefore was
 “ in an error with respect to the origin of a
 “ people, whose history, on account of their
 “ connection with the Romans, was known, it
 “ is much more probable that he knew nothing
 “ certain concerning the antiquities of a nation,
 “ who had not among them the means of pre-
 “ serving, with any certainty, the memory of
 “ events.”

This is the third argument against Bede. And it is, I think, of as little avail as the other two.—Bede has committed no mistake, even upon Mr. Macpherson’s own state of the case. He derives the original Britons from Armorica: but he derives them very dubiously. In primis, says he, *hæc insula Britones solum, a quibus nomen accepit, incolas habuit, qui de tractu Armoricano, ut fertur, Britanniam advecti*¹. And his derivation of the original Britons from Armorica, even if positively asserted, does not supersede, as Mr. Macpherson imagines, the remigration of Britons into that country afterwards, because it is not contrary to it.

The name of Armorica seems, from the shifting application of it by antient authors, and from the full import of the word, which signifies the people upon the sea, to have once extended

¹ L. i. c. i.

along the whole compass of the Gallic coast from the Bay of Biscay to the Rhine. In the days of Cæsar, it comprized a variety of states in Western Gaul ¹. In the days of Pliny, it reached from the Pyrenees to the Garonne ². And in the days of Sidonius Apollinaris it was carried much farther to the North-East, and included, and even seems to have been restricted to, the compass of the present Bretagne ³. In this general acceptation of the word, the Britons were certainly derived from Armorica. And at the eastern point of the Gallic coast, and directly opposite to the great Angle of Kent, even Bede places the Morini, a name exactly the same as Ar-Mor-ic-i, and seemingly the continuation of it ⁴.

Whether the Britons ever re-migrated into France, and fixed the appellation of Britanni on the continent, has been much disputed. But, I think, it may be satisfactorily decided. That they actually transmigrated, is evident from history. They passed into Gaul under the conduct of Maximus, and settled afterwards in Armorica, as is asserted by Llowarch Hên and Nennius ⁵. And they settled in Gaul upon the first invasion of the Saxons, as is affirmed by Gildas, Bede, and Eginhard ⁶. But in both

¹ P. 108 and 47. ² L. iv. c. 17. ³ Carte, v. I. p. 7.
⁴ L. i. c. 1. ⁵ Carte, v. I. p. 169. a
note, and Nennius, c. 23. ⁶ Gildas, c. 25. alii trans-

these migrations they did not establish themselves in Bretagne only. The greatest number passed over under Maximus¹; and these were dispersed in the many regions that extend à stagno quod est super verticem Montis Jovis usque ad civitatem quæ vocatur Cantguic, from the great St. Bernard in Piedmont to Cantavic in Picardy, and from Picardy to the western coast of France². And the refugees, that were driven away by the Saxon invasion, appear to have equally dispersed themselves into different parts of the continent, transmarinas regiones petivere. In both expeditions, however, a body of them seems certainly to have planted themselves in the present Bretagne³. But they never fixed the name of Britanni on the continent. It was there ages before either migration. Dionysius the Geographer, and Pliny the Naturalist, both speak of the Britanni, as the name of a tribe on the borders of Picardy and Flanders⁴. And Britannia, the capital of the tribe assuredly, was one of the most celebrated cities in Gaul, as early as the days of Hannibal⁵. Armorica is

marinas petebant regiones; Bede, l. i. c. 15. the same; and Eginhard in Ann. Franc. Usher, p. 226. edit. 1687.

¹ Gildas, c. 11. ingenti juventute.

² Nennius, c. 23.

The common copies read Tantguic, but the Cotton MS. Cantguic. And for Cantavic see Carte, V. I. p. 25. a note.

³ Carte, V. I. p. 267, from Lowarch, and the writers in Usher, p. 226.

⁴ Carte, p. 5.

⁵ Ibid. a note.

called

called Britannia by Sulpicius Severus, at a time when it appears to have been equally called Armorica. Sulpicius wrote within 10 years only after the expedition of Maximus; and yet he recites the name without any note of its novelty, and even in speaking of the times antecedent to that expedition ¹. And in the same manner, within 12 years only from the first possible migration of the islanders in consequence of the Saxon invasion, and within 4 only after the Saxons had made themselves masters of a single county ², even in the year 461, and even in the public acts of a Synod, the Prelate of Armorica subscribes himself, without hesitation, without explanation, Mansuetus Bishop of the Britons ³. Each argument separately proves, and the actual and exact concurrence of both gives a great additional weight to the proof, that the names of Armorica and Britannia were equally the appellations of the country, long before the forces of

¹ Carte, p. 6—7. a note.

² Sax. Chron.

³ Usher, p. 226.—Mr. Carte has strangely supposed such a number of Britons to have retired from Kent, that Hengist was obliged to bring a body of his countrymen, about 300,000, from Germany to supply their place (V. I. p. 195.).—And Dr. Borlase, still more strangely, supposes the Britons to have retired into Armorica “when the Saxons had conquered “the greatest part of the island” (P. 39. edit. 2d.), though the name of the Britons occurs in Armorica so many years before that period.

Maximus

Maximus or the refugees of Kent could have settled in it. It is ridiculous to suppose, that they settled there in any considerable numbers. No numbers could have imposed their own appellation on the country, without an absolute conquest of the natives. And as, in the circumstances of both the colonies, a conquest of Armorica was absolutely impracticable, so the name of Britain appears the well-known, the acknowledged, and the customary appellation of Armorica, within 10 years only after the first migration, and even within 4 only after the last.

The name of Britons, then, was the antient and equal appellation of the Armoricans, as in the History of Manchester I have shewn the names of Morini and Rhemi to have been for the Durotriges and Bibroces; was taken up in the later ages of the Empire, and at last superseded the other. And these appellations of Britons for the Celtæ of Armorica, Picardy, or Flanders, were all evidently occasioned by the same principles of distinction that planted Pict-on-es in France and Pict-i in Scotland, and that settled Brigantes equally on the continent and in the island. The principle which stamped the appellation of Britanni, Brigantes, or the separated People, upon the Gauls that had crossed the channel into Albion, as naturally operated to give the same name to the Gauls which were separated from the rest by much lighter barriers,

riers, by a few hills of the Alps or a couple of currents. And we see the case strongly exemplified in the equivalent word *Viêt* or *Piêt*, applied, as I have shewn in the History of Manchester, to those Britons who were strikingly distinguished from the others by lying without the pale of the Roman province, and equally applied to the *Piëtiones* in Gaul, who were only divided from their brethren by rivers, and to the *Vecturion-es* in Caledonia, who were only separated from their countrymen by mountains¹.

¹ History of Manchester, p. 415—417. The word is also applied, in *Vectis*, *Ictis*, or *Wight*, to a land that was merely peninsular, and only insulated at the tide of flood; and, in *Portus Ictius* or *Wit-sand*, merely to such an opening or division in the shore as formed an harbour. And it therefore stands for an island in the Welsh *Uight* (Baxter on *Vectis*) and the Saxon-Welsh *Ight*, and for a cove or creek in the Cornish *Ic* or *Ict*, at present.—How wrong then are Mr. Carte and Dr. Borlase; the one, in drawing an argument for the conjunction of Britain to Gaul from the name of the *Promontorium Ictium*, because the name signifies separation (p. 3.); and the other for transferring the *Ictis* of Diodorus from the isle of *Wight* to Cornwall, because the name signifies a Cove in Cornish (Borlase's *Scilly*). The harbour must have given name to the Promontory. And *Ict* must have signified an harbour equally in the Gallic and British.—And so we have *Brixia*, now *Brescia*, in the Gallic part of Italy, as the Britons of France now call themselves *Brez*, and as *Brix* signifies a rupture or division at present. And so *Bruges* in Flanders, *Bretten* the antient name of *Mons* in *Hainault*, &c. (See Carte, p. 6 and 10.).

Bede

Bede then has not committed, as Mr. Macpherson asserts, "a very essential mistake" here. He has committed none at all. He deduces the original Britons from Armorica, perhaps extending that name along the whole coast of France, and being then right in his deduction. One of his reasons was the continuing appellation of Britons in Gaul, perhaps in Flanders or Picardy, and certainly in Bretagne. And the other was the general tradition of the times. But he gives us all with a strong note of diffidence, referring us to his single authority, and declaring that to be only the popular opinion. By his ascribing the name of the Insular to the Continental Britons, he plainly shews that he considered the name as existing in Gaul, many ages before the invasion of the Saxons or the rebellion of Maximus. And we have seen above, that the name was actually prior to both.

I have entered the more fully into this argument, because it might seem to carry some degree of force with it. And I was desirous to ascertain the triflingness of the British migrations into Gaul, which had been considerably heightened, to point out the existence of the name of Britons there before them, and to lay open the grounds and reasons of the name consistently with the etymology of Britain before. Mr. Carte, pursuing the steps of Bede, had endeavoured to
derive

derive the name of our own Britons from the remaining appellation on the continent, but had not asserted the meaning of either. And he had even, contradictorily, derived the name of Bretagne from the transplanted Britons of this island¹. And I was willing, in answer equally to Mr. Macpherson and Mr. Carte, to vindicate the real history, if I could, and to reduce it into a regular consistency.

P. 123. "From the political and religious
 " prejudices which prevailed, in the days of Bede,
 " between the British Scots and the Saxons, we
 " may conclude that the venerable writer had
 " very little conversation with the antiquaries or
 " senachies of the former nation. Had he even
 " consulted them, very little light could be de-
 " rived from them in an age of ignorance, cre-
 " dulity, and barbarism. Bede, on the other
 " hand, entertained a friendly partiality for the
 " Scots of Ireland.—Their benevolence and hos-
 " pitality to the Saxon Students, who flocked
 " into their country, recommended them, in a
 " very high degree, to the venerable Anglo-Saxon
 " (Bede Hist. lib. iv. c. 26.). The good man,
 " we may take it for granted, embraced every
 " opportunity of conversing with those Hibernian

¹ Carte, p. 5—6, and 194—195, V. I.

" missionaries

“missionaries and pilgrims who came over in
 “swarms into Britain, in those days of conver-
 “sion and religious pilgrimage. From them he
 “borrowed all that genealogical erudition which
 “he displays in the beginning of his Ecclesiastical
 “History.”

This is the fourth argument against Bede. And it is obviously all founded upon guesses, assumptions without reason, and conclusions without premisses. — It is presumed, that Bede had very little conversation with the Caledonians, and a great deal with the Irish. It is therefore inferred, that he derived his account of the Scots, not from the former, but the latter. And it is again inferred, that his accounts are therefore wrong. Such is the nature of the present argument. And the presumption and inferences are all equally unjust.

A very great intimacy had commenced betwixt the Northumbrians and Caledonians, from the kind refuge which the sons of Ethelfrid had found among the latter, after the death of their father in 617. And a considerable correspondence was carried on between them to the days of Bede. *Filii — regis Ædilfridi, says Bede, — cum magnâ nobilium juventute apud Scottos sive Pictos exulabant, ibique ad Scottorum doctrinam catechizati*

¹ So the Preface to Dr. Macpherson, p. vi and xiii.

funt.

sunt ¹. And a few years afterward Oswald the king, and a number of adherents with him, were received with equal hospitality, and were equally baptized, among the Scots: *inter quos exulans Ipse Baptismatis sacramenta, cum his qui secum erant militibus, consecutus erat* ². At Oswald's departure from the country, he appears to have made himself a perfect master of the Scotch language: *tam longo exilii sui tempore linguam Scottorum jam plenè didicerat* ³. And, upon his recovery of Northumbria from Cadwallaun, he sent and procured a bishop and various other teachers from the country, and the Northumbrians became the pupils and disciples of the Scots: *misit ad majores natu Scottorum —, petens ut sibi mitteretur antistes —; accepit — pontificem Aidanum —; exin cœpere plures per dies de Scottorum regione venire Britanniam, atque illis Anglorum provinciis quibus regnavit rex Osuald — verbum fidei predicare —; imbuebantur præceptoribus Scottis parvuli Anglorum* ⁴. And this continued the regular state of Northumbria for 30 or 40 years together, the three successive bishops of Northumbria being all Scotch, king Ofwi and bishop Chad being well acquainted with the Scotch language, and even the southerly

¹ Bede, l. iii. c. 1.

³ Ibid.

² L. iii. c. 3.

⁴ Ibid.

kingdom

kingdom of Mercia being governed at the same period by two successive Scotch bishops¹. This continued to the year 664². And a frequent intercourse was carried on by the Northumbrians with the Scots and Picts afterwards, even to the death of Bede. This historian was born within nine years after the termination of the Scottish bishops, and finished his history in the 59th year of his age and the 731st after Christ³. King Oswi, who had been educated among the Scots⁴, extended his empire over a part of the Picts, and subjected his new dominions to the one bishop of Northumbria⁵. These were afterwards, in 681, formed into a separate diocese by king Egfrid⁶, and continued so to the year 685⁷. In the year 701 Adamnan, the Abbot of Hii, was sent on an embassy by the Scots to Alfrid king of Northumbria, resided some time in the country, and was converted by the Northumbrian scholars to the Saxon mode of observing Easter⁸. In 710 the monarch of the Picts sent ambassadors to Ceolfrid, the Abbot of Bede's own monastery, who had conversed with Adamnan before⁹, and with whom Bede was then, and had been for

¹ L. iii. c. 21, 24, and 25.

² P. 795, Smith.

³ L. iv. c. 3.

⁴ L. iv. c. 26.

⁵ P. 215.

⁶ C. 26.

⁷ L. iii. c. 25 and 29.

⁸ L. iv. c. 12.

⁹ L. v. c. 15.

very many years, resident in the monastery; requesting proper information from him concerning the observance of Easter¹. The information was given, and all the Picts conformed to the Saxon mode². And in 716 Egbert, a Northumbrian clergyman, went among the Scots, resided 13 years with them, and converted numbers of them to the same mode³. From this particular detail of facts it is plain, that Bede had sufficient opportunities of conversing with the Caledonians and Caledonian Scots, and of knowing the origin of the latter from the united accounts of both. The political and religious prejudices of the Saxons are shewn to have been pretty equal against the Caledonians and Irish. And the Northumbrians appear to have had a much greater intercourse with their neighbours of Caledonia, than with the natives of Ireland. The political prejudices of the Saxons against the former did not, as Mr. Macpherson imagines, make the communication between them small, but naturally operated to increase it by the reduction of a large extent of Caledonia, and actually united a very considerable body of the Picts for many years to Northumbria. And

¹ L. v. c. 21.² Ibid.³ L. v. c. 22. and p. 33.

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their

their religious prejudices against them, which Mr. Macpherson alledges as the preventive cause of much communication, prevented not the Saxon kings and Saxon nobles, we see, from being educated among the Scots, or from inviting Scottish bishops and Scottish teachers into Northumbria, before the days of Bede, and were even the occasion of visits, conferences, and embassies between them to the period of his writing. For more than a century before it, the Northumbrians had been particularly conversant with the Picts and Scots. And, at it, there were no religious and political prejudices subsisting at all betwixt them. Both the Picts and Scots were then in a state of peace and friendliness with Northumbria. A great part of the latter had been converted by Saxon preachers to the Saxon observance of Easter. And the whole body of the former had adopted the ceremonial of Northumbria¹.

Thus is the main point of Mr. Macpherson's argument refuted by positive authority. And such is the unhappy construction of this and many of his arguments, that it is not only an assertion without proof, that it is not only false in itself, but that, if true, it would prove nothing. It is not of the least mo-

¹ L. v. c. 23, &c.

ment to the authenticity of the fact, whether Bede derived his knowledge of it from the Scots of Ireland or the Scots of Caledonia. Either would be a sufficient and competent authority for the whole. And, even according to Mr. Macpherson's own account in this very extract, the Irish Scots must have been the best historians, as the Caledonian were then in a state of "ignorance, credulity, and barbarism," and as Ireland was the seat of learning even to the English, and the "Saxon students *flocked* into the country."

P. 124. Having triflingly observed, that "the sudden transition which Bede makes from the tale of Reuda to a panegyric on Ireland," and afterwards concluding with a new declaration of the same tale, furnishes a strong presumption that he derived his information from the Irish; Mr. Macpherson proceeds thus — "It is apparent from another circumstance, that Bede borrowed his account of the Scots from the Irish. He calls the inhabitants of Iar-ghael [Argyle] by the name of Dalreudini, an appellation utterly unknown to the historians, writers of chronicles, bards, and senachies of Scotland, though common in the annals of Ireland."

I have already observed, that it is not of the least signification to the truth and authenticity of the history, whether Bede derived it from the Scots of Ireland or the Scots of Caledonia, and that, even according to Mr. Maepherfon himself, the learned Irish were more likely to give Bede true information concerning an antient incident, than their ignorant and barbarous brethren of Argyle. And the fact and reasoning here are neither of them true.

Bede asserts the Scots of Caledonia to have been actually denominated Dalreudini in his time: *usque hodie Dalreudini vocantur*¹. This is not a particular, that could have been borrowed from the Irish annalists. He speaks of a fact notorious and public, and existing in his own time. It was the popular name of the Scots among the nations around them, in the days of Bede. This therefore is a circumstance that must have been known to Bede himself. And his assertion is decisive for its existence.

P. 125—126. “To destroy from another principle, the tale of Bede and the story of Reuda, it may not be improper to observe, that

¹ L. i. c. i.

“the

“ the learned Usher found out that a district in
 “ the county of Antrim, which has for many ages
 “ been distinguished by the name of *Route*, is
 “ the Dalriada of the old Irish. Dalriada, says
 “ the ingenious prelate, derives its name from
 “ Cairbre-Riada, the son of Conaire, who held
 “ the sceptre of Ireland in the third century. But
 “ we may venture to affirm that Usher, in this
 “ supposition, was very much misled. Rute or
 “ Reaidh in the old Scottish language signifies
 “ a Ram, — and — Dalriada literally the val-
 “ ley of the Ram. Usher quotes a patent which
 “ is preserved in the Tower of London, wherein
 “ it appears, that John king of England granted to
 “ Allan Lord of Galloway the territory of Dal-
 “ reth and the island of Rachrin, which is situ-
 “ ated over-against that district. From the sylla-
 “ bication of the two local names in the patent,
 “ we may conclude that the etymon we have
 “ given of Dalriada is perfectly just. Rachrin,
 “ which may, with great propriety, be reckoned
 “ an appendage to the *Route*, signifies the Ram’s
 “ promontory in the Irish tongue ; and Dalriada
 “ itself being expressly called the land of Rams,
 “ in the Irish patent mentioned by the primate
 “ himself, is a circumstance that is decisive in our
 “ favour.”

This is the sixth argument against the asser-
 tion of Bede. And it is obviously none at all

against him. It relates only to Usher. And it has no more tendency "to destroy the tale of "Bede and the story of Reuda," than it has to disprove the doctrine of gravitation or the theory of the comets. Usher's etymon of Dalriada may be unjust: and yet the account of the Dalreudian colony in Bede would be unimpeached. And, what is still more strange in the formation of this argument, Usher may have really "found "out that a district in the county of Antrim, "which has for many ages been distinguished by "the name of Route, is the Dalriada of the "Irish:" and yet his derivation of Dalriada from Cairbre-Riada may be false. In the first case, Mr. Macpherson's reasoning is not pointed against the historical fact in Bede, though it pretends to destroy it. And, in the second, it is not levelled against the geographical fact in Usher, though it is designed to overthrow it.

Having thus easily shewn the strange incompetency of the argument in general, we shall have more leisure to point out Mr. Macpherson's other mistakes in the course of it. These are; That the Route in Antrim was so called from Rute a Ram; That Dalriada signifies literally the valley of the Ram; That Rachrin means the Ram's Promontory; and, That "Dalriada itself
"being

“being expressly called the land of Rams, in
 “the Irish patent mentioned by the primate
 “himself, is a circumstance that is decisive in
 “Mr. Macpherson’s favour.” This last assertion
 is an unaccountable mistake. Dalriada is neither
 expressly nor implicitly called the land of Rams
 in Usher’s patent, as mentioned by himself. All
 that he says of it is this: Totam—Dalreth five
 Dalrede, cum insulâ Rachlyn vel Rachrin, illi
 objacente, Alano de Galway, a Johanne Anglo-
 rum Rege & Hiberniæ Domino concessam olim
 fuisse, ex archivis Regiis in arce Londinensi asser-
 vatis constat (Patent in Dorso ann. 14 R. Johan-
 nis, Membran. 3. Num. 1., et ann. 17. Mem-
 bran. 5. Num. 57); quam utramque nunc
 jure possideat hereditario Comes Antrimensis¹.
 And, as the circumstance decisive in our au-
 thor’s favour appears not upon the face of the
 Archbishop’s account, so his etymons contra-
 dict every idea of propriety.—Riada or Reaidhe,
 we see, is used not only conjunctively with Dal,
 as in Dal-riada, but separately by itself, as in
 Route. And to denominate any country simply
 Reaith or Ram, is an evident absurdity. This
 overthrows the etymology of both at once.
 The true derivation must be one, that will
 conform itself with propriety to the name of
 Route, as well as to the appellation of Dal-
 riada. And such is Ruta, the same in Irish

¹ P. 321.

as Route in English, and signifying in an honourable acceptation a tribe of people ; a name, with the greatest propriety applicable to that division of Antrim which is denominated Route, to the Dal-reud-ini of Scotland, and to the Dal-reth of Ireland, and importing the tribe and the country of it. — Nor can Rachlyn or Rachrin signify the Ram's promontory. A Ram is in Irish, not Rach, but Reaith ; and Mr. Macpherson has already deduced Route and Reaidhe from it. And the other word is not Ryn only, but equally Lyn, Rachlyn vel Rachrin. This is not a promontory, but an island, insula Rachlyn vel Rachrin, and is actually an island, and actually denominated Rachlin, at present. The name clearly terminating in the word In an island, it seems to begin with the Irish word Rak-ol, and to import the Royal island. And hence it is denominated Ric-in-a, Reich-in, or King-island, by Ptolemy ¹.

P. 127,

¹ Mr. Macpherson also objects in p. 126, That “ according to the genius of the Irish language” Dal-riada, if called from Cairbre-Riada, must have been, not Dal-Riada, but Dal-Cairbre, because Riada is only a posterior and secondary name. But we have several instances to the contrary in the Irish history, which, however spurious as facts, are certainly agreeable to the genius of the Irish language, as Dal-araidhe in Down and Antrim from Fiacha-araidhe, king of Ulster towards

P. 127—128. “Usher has ascertained the
 “bounds of Dalriada, or the *Route* in Antrim,
 “and found its whole extent about thirty miles.
 “Were it even certain that Dalriada produced
 “more men than any district of the same extent
 “in antient Ireland, still it is incredible, that an
 “army could be mustered there sufficient to sub-
 “due the principality of Iar-ghael [Argyle.]”

All the arguments that are founded on a sup-
 position, of the Scotch settling in Caledonia by
 violence, have been already shewn to be beside
 the mark. No one, I think, has ever insisted upon
 the settlement being originally effected by force.
 And the amicable concurrence of the Caledonian
 Scots with the Picts in expeditions into the Ro-
 man province, within a few years only after
 their first establishment in Britain, is a full and
 convincing proof, as I have already remarked,
 that the one fixed themselves in the country with
 the entire consent of the other.

wards the middle of the third century, and as Dal-Cais from
 Cormac-Cais, king of Munster and Leinster in the same cen-
 tury.—Rachryn seems to be equally the true name with
 Rachlyn, as the islet is called Rechru and Rachrea in Adam-
 pan's *Life of Columba* (L. i. c. 5. p. 340, and L. ii. c. 41,
 p. 361, Colgan's *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ*, vol. ii.). And this
 is Reich-er-y, or Rach-er-ea, the Kingman's island, literally.

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THE author here dismisses Bede for the second time. And what he has advanced against him, Isidore, and Orosius, are reasonings merely problematical, arguments that have forgot their direction, and proofs that evince nothing; violent assertions without authority, strong depositions in the face of history, and etymologies egregiously fantastical and trifling. This account, I hope, is not too severe. I give it merely from my own feelings, sensibly offended as they have been through the whole course of this section. And, while I wish to be polite to Mr. Macpherson, I cannot but severely condemn the negligence and hastiness of the historian.

VI.

DISMISSING these semblances of reasons, Mr. Macpherson now advances to what he denominates in the margin his "conclusion five arguments." And, here at least, we shall meet with reasonings that may be worthy of the author.

P. 129. "As a concluding argument against
 "the Hibernian extraction of the Scots, it may
 "not be improper to observe, that the Caledo-
 "nians might be called Hibernians, their coun-
 "try in general Hibernia, and the western
 "division of it Ierna or Yverdhon, without de-
 "riving their blood from the Irish. The Saxons
 "of England, it is well known, had their Norfolk
 "and Suffolk, and the appellation of Southerons
 "and Norlands are not hitherto totally extin-
 "guished among the Scots [the Scotch Low-
 "landers]: the antient Picts, in like manner,
 "were divided into two great tribes, the Vescu-
 "riones and Deucaledones, the inhabitants of the
 "Northern

“ Northern and Southern divisions, according to
 “ the testimony of Marcellinus. (Eo tempore
 “ Picti in duas gentes divisi, Deucaledonas et
 “ Vecturiones. Ammian. Marcellin. lib. xxvii.
 “ Camdenus, vir in patriâ historiâ illustrandâ ac-
 “ curatissimus, legendum putat Deucaledonios,
 “ velut ficnominatos ab occiduâ Scotiæ orâ, quâ
 “ Deucaledonius oceanus irrumpit).”

This, we see, is called “a concluding argu-
 “ ment” by Mr. Macpherson. And I am sorry
 to observe, that it appears upon the very face
 of it, it appears even as he has stated it, to
 amount to no proof, to amount not even to
 a presumption, but to rise only to a mere pos-
 sibility. “As a concluding argument—, it
 “ may be proper to observe, that the Caledo-
 “ nians *might* be called Hibernians, &c.” Nor is
 the argument any other in itself, as it infers
 that the Caledonians *might* be called Hibernians,
 because the Saxons had a Norfolk and Suffolk,
 the Scots were once divided into Southerons
 and Norlands, and the Picts were broken into
 Northern and Southern Vecturiones and Deuca-
 ledones. And this is surely the first, merely
 possible, argument that was ever advanced against
 an historical fact; and is, I hope, the last that
 will be denominated a conclusive one.

So far for the argument in general. Let us now examine the particular parts of it. Grossly inaccurate as it is in the principal point, it cannot be exact in the subordinate circumstances. And it is not.

Marcellinus does not say, as he is here quoted, that the *Vesturiones* and *Deucaledones* were the northern and southern Picts. He makes not the least mention of either North or South. And he was unacquainted with the name of *Deucaledones*, though Mr. Macpherson, in direct contradiction to his own Latin note, quotes him as using it. *Picti in duas gentes divisi*, he says, *Dicalidonas et Vesturiones*. The *Vesturiones* I have shewn in the History of Manchester to be only a single tribe, that inhabited a part of Perth and Mar, and all Gawry, Angus, and Merns, between them¹. And *Dycaledones* I have equally shewn to be the same word with *Deucaledones* in British, and Ammianus's text therefore to need no alteration². These Mr. Camden very justly supposed to be the tribes along the *Deucaledonian Ocean* of Ptolemy. But their name does not signify a position to the West, as Mr. Camden imagined, or a situation to the North, as Archbishop Usher and Mr. Macpherson suppose. These and Baxter interpret *Deu* the West, the North, and the South. But it

¹ P. 10.

² P. 423.

plainly.

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plainly relates to none of them. Du or Deu signifies Water, as in Du-bana, the river Ban in Ireland, and in Deu-draeth, or the Sea-beach, the name of several places in Wales¹; And the nations of western Caledonia were denominated Deu-caledon or the Maritime Caledonians, as the westerly tribes of Gaul were named *Aremorici* or the Gauls of the shore; as a single maritime people in Gaul and Britain was called *Morini* and *Durotriges*, the people of the Sea, or the Inhabitants on the Water; and as the Highlanders that live in a line along the shore of Scotland, in Ross, Sutherland, and Cathness, are sometimes denominated by their interior brethren *An-Dua-Ghael*, or the Water-Britons, to the present moment².

From this account it is plain, that the passage in *Ammlanus* has been hitherto misunderstood by the critics. He means not by it, that the great society of the Picts was divided into *Di-caledones* and *Vecturiones*. The latter were only a single tribe on the East. And the former comprehended only a few tribes on the West. All the other nations in the East, the North, and the South of Caledonia, according to this interpretation, are thrown out of the number of the Picts, and ranked as different and

¹ History of Manchester, p. 423.

² Ibid.

distinct.

distinct from them. The author is therefore to be interpreted, not concerning the body of the Picts in general, but of that particular army of them which now ravaged the Province. And this he asserts to have been levied from two divisions of the country, from the long line of the Dicaldonian tribes, which were situated upon the western shore, and from the single nation of the Vecturiones, which was placed upon the eastern. *Eo tempore Picti, in duas gentes divisi, Dicalidonas et Vecturiones, itidemque Attacotti, bellicosa hominum natio, et Scotti, per diversa vagantes multa populabantur.*

Thus unfortunate is Mr. Macpherson in the commencement of his conclusive reasonings. And thus grossly mistaken is he, equally in the principal point and the subordinate circumstances of his first argument.

P. 129—130. "If the Picts spoke the—Caledonian language, they must certainly have called the territories of the Scots [in Caledonia], Iar, Eire, Erin,—words, all of them, expressive of the situation of the country of the Scottish tribes, in opposition to the Pictish division of Caledonia; if they spoke the antient British, they would have distinguished the country of the Scots by the name of Yverdhoon,

"or,

“ or, as it is pronounced, Yberon or Yveron.
 “ These names being communicated to the Ro-
 “ mans by the Britons, or by Pictish prisoners, it
 “ was natural for them to latinize them into Ierna,
 “ Iouerna, or Hibernia. In common conver-
 “ sation, the western Highlands are called by
 “ those who speak the Galic language IAR, or
 “ the West; and when the Hebrides are com-
 “ prehended in that division of Scotland, the Ga-
 “ lic appellation of Iar-in has been always given
 “ to the whole. The district of Arre-gathel, or
 “ rather Iar-ghael, so often mentioned in the
 “ annals of Ireland and Scotland, as the first
 “ possessions of the Hibernian colonies in Bri-
 “ tain, carries in its name a demonstration of
 “ this position, as well as a decisive argument
 “ against the antient system of the origin of the
 “ Scots. Iar-ghael literally signifies the *western*
 “ *Gael*, or the Scots, in opposition to the *eastern*
 “ *Gael*, or the Picts, who possessed the shore of
 “ the German Ocean.”

This is the second conclusive argument against
 the Hibernian extraction of the Scots. And I
 have quoted it in all its extent, that it may not
 be deprived of any necessary part, but may
 stand the trial in its full force and power. It
 consists of these two great particulars; That
 Iar, Eir, Erin, and Yverdhon or Yberon, are
 names by which the Picts must have distinguished
 the

the Scottish territories in Caledonia, as the western Highlands are to this day popularly denominated Iar by the Highlanders, and, when the Hebrides are included, Iar-in, and are the origin of the Greek and Roman appellations of Ierna, Iuverna, and Hibernia; and, That the name of Argyle, Arre-gathel, or rather Iar-ghael, literally signifies the western Gael, and so distinguished the Scots from the Picts, as the Gael of the western from the Gael of the eastern coast. And both of these positions I will examine attentively.

The conclusive argument before, according to Mr. Macpherson's own state of it and the truth, amounted only to a possibility. This assumes the confidence of certainty, and pretends to be decisive. "The Picts—*must certainly* have called &c. "—*a decisive argument* against the antient system "of the origin of the Scots, &c." But the certainty and decisiveness of this is little better than the possibility of that.

The former half of this argument makes the western Highlands of Scotland to be the Ierna, Iuverna, and Hibernia of the antients. And in p. 112—113 we are referred to the present passage, as actually proving the probability at least of the position. But, in opposition to it, we need only reflect upon what Strabo, Cæsar, and Mela, the first authors that mention Ierna, Iuverna, and Hibernia, have said of each. Strabo, the first certain writer who speaks of Ierna,

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says

says thus of it : *ἔστι δὲ καὶ αἱλλοὶ περὶ τὴν Βρεττανικὴν νῆσοι μικραὶ μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ἰερνὴν πρὸς ἀρκτὸν παραβέβημεν, προσηρῆς μάλλον δὲ πλάττει εἶχεσθαι*¹. Mela, the first who notices Iuverna, says thus : *Supra Britanniam Iuverna est, penè par spatio, sed utrinque æquali tractu littorum oblonga*². And Cæsar, the first who mentions Hibernia, says thus : *alterum [latus Britannix] vergit ad—occidentem solem, quâ ex parte est Hibernia, dimidio minor, ut existimatur, quàm Britannia ; sed pari spatio transmissus atque ex Galliâ est in Britanniam ; in hoc medio cursu est insula quæ appellatur Mona*³. And these descriptions will not agree at all with the western Highlands of Scotland. They are not above⁴, or to the West of, Britain, but are

¹ Strabo, p. 307.—I quote not Orpheus, because the work attributed to him, or to Orpheus of Crotona (see Usher, p. 378), is assuredly spurious. And I even quote not Aristotle's treatise *De Mundo*, though it is quoted as his by Mr. Carte (p. 4. V. I.), and as his, or Theophrastus's, or some person's cotemporary with both, by Usher (p. 378) ; for the same reason that I appealed not to it before, to prove the name of Briton prior to Mr. Macpherson's Cimbri ; because I consider it as the work of a later period.

² L. iii. c. 6.

³ P. 89.

⁴ So the western side of Roman Britain was called *Britannia Superior* or *Higher Britain*, and the eastern *Britannia Inferior* or *Lower Britain* (*History of Manchester*, p. 59).—And, as to Strabo's *πρὸς Ἀρκτὸν*, all the western side of Britain from Galloway to the Orkneys is stiled the northern side of it by Ptolemy.

actually

actually a part of it. They are not about one half, or nearly the whole, of the compass of Britain, but are a part, and a small one, of it. And they are not divided from Britain by a sea as broad as the Gallic, in the middle of which lies the isle of Man; they are not one of the many isles that lie about Britain; and they are not a great island whose two opposite sides are equal in length, and which is broader than it is long: but they are a narrow tract of country within the island of Britain, lie along the eastern border of that sea in which is the isle of Man, and have only a shore upon one side. These descriptions of Ierna, Hibernia, and Iuverna, therefore; decisively appropriate the appellations. It is absolutely impossible, that the western Highlands of Scotland could be meant by them. And it is equally impossible, that any but Ireland could be meant.

Thus is the first part of this conclusive argument very easily overthrown. And the second will fall still more easily. It pretends to prove the western Highlands of Scotland, the Iar or Iar-in of the present Highlanders, to be the Ierna of the antients, and the Scots of these Highlands to be native Caledonians, *because* the Scots are called Iar-gael or western Gauls. And, even if we allow Mr. Macpherson all his premises, his conclusion is unjust. Even if we allow Iar-gael to be an original appellation for the Scots;

even if we allow it to mean the western Gael, in opposition to the Picts, as the eastern ; yet it will not follow, that the Scots were equally Caledonians with the Picts. It would only serve to prove them equally Gael with them. And, as Mr. Macpherson has repeatedly assured us before, that the Irish retain the denomination of Gael with the Highlanders ; so I have equally shewn it to have been common to all the tribes of this island.

Thus inconclusive and illogical is the whole of the argument. The assertion, that the Ierna, Iú-
verna, and Hibernia of the antients meant, not Ireland, but the western Highlands of Scotland, has been effectually disproved by a reference to the accounts of the antients themselves. And the reasoning from the name of Argyle has been shewn to be founded upon an obvious fallacy, the substitution of one term for another, Gael for Caledon. And the whole turn and complexion of the argument is evidently arbitrary and despotical ; asserting Ierna &c. to mean the western Highlands, without any deductions of reason, and merely because these are called Iar at present ; and alledging the name of Iar-gael as a demonstrative evidence of the Caledonian origin of the Scots, without any specification of proofs, and merely because the Scots and Caledonians were equally denominated Gael.

To

To this clear refutation of Mr. Macpherson's argument let me add two observations, in order to collect his reasonings on this subject, in different parts of his work, into one point of view.—Hibernia is here without hesitation derived from the Welsh Yverdhon. But in p. 56—57 we are told, that *it is more probable* it was *not* derived from Yverdhon, and that *we may conclude* it was derived from the Latin Hibernus.—And Mr. Macpherson here argues, that Ierna, Iuerna, and Hibernia among the antients, as derived from the British Iar-in, Erin, or Yverdhon, must certainly mean the western Highlands of Scotland; when in p. 55 he says expressly, that Ireland was called Iar-in by the Caledonians, and even “in contradistinction” to the western shore of Caledonia; when in p. 56—57, 62, 63, 81, 94, 95, and 106, he expressly quotes Cæsar, Mela, Solinus, and Tacitus, as applying Hibernia to Ireland; and when in p. 56 he specifies Iuerna, Ierna, Iris, *Oesperia*, and Hibernia, as “various names by which the Greeks and Romans distinguished” the isle of Ireland.—So grossly inattentive is Mr. Macpherson even to his own reasonings before!

P. 131. “In the neighbourhood of Drumat-
bin, a ridge of hills which divided the Scottish

K 3

“from

“ from the Pictish dominions, there is a lake,
 “ which, to this day, is called Erin. The river
 “ Erin or Ern rises from that lake, and gives its
 “ name to a very considerable division of the
 “ county of Perth. In this district there are to
 “ be seen several Roman camps to this day. The
 “ Romans could not be strangers to the name of a
 “ country where their armies remained long
 “ enough to leave such lasting memorials of
 “ themselves behind. Juvenal, from the soldiers
 “ of Agricola, might have heard of the district of
 “ Erin, which he softened into Juverna; and the
 “ troops of Theodosius might have carried the
 “ same intelligence to Claudian.”

This is the third conclusive argument against the Hibernian extraction of the Scots. And it is full of errors.

The first amounted merely to a possibility. The second assumed the air of certainty and decisiveness. And the third relapses to a mere possibility again. “ Juvenal, from the soldiers of Agricola, “ *might* have heard of the district of Erin — ; “ and the troops of Theodosius *might* have carried the same intelligence to Claudian.” This is surely a strange mode of reasoning; *possible* in the outset, *certain* in the progress, and *possible* again at the close; like a ninepin, great in the middle, and small at the extremities.

But

But it is still more remarkable, that the second argument directly contradicts the third. In that, Juverna and Ierna, particularly, are insisted upon to have been applied by the Greeks and Romans to the western Highlands of Scotland. But, in this, the names are supposed to be derived to the Romans from Strathern in the county of Perth, and to have been applied to it by Juvenal and Claudian. In p. 56 the author assigns the names to Ireland. In p. 130 he fixes them upon the western Highlands. And in p. 131 he cedes them to a part of the eastern. We have been so much accustomed to contradictions in Mr. Macpherson, from the clashing parts of his ill-composed system, that we shall the less wonder at the strangeness of this last; and shall be less surprized to find, that in the progress of his conclusive arguments, and within the compass of a few lines only, he should thus grossly oppose his own sentiments, and wantonly overthrow the edifice which he had been so busily raising.

Many notions in Mr. Macpherson's Dissertation are derived from the writers before him on the same subject. And the substitution of Strathern for the Ierne of Claudian and the Juverna of Juvenal, is particularly made by Sir George Mac-

kenzie and Sir Robert Sibbald¹. But the opinion is a very wild one. Juvenal says :

Arma quid ultra
Littora Juvernæ-promovimus, et modò captas
Orcadas, et minimâ contentos nocte Britannos?

Claudian says thus :

Totam cum Scotus Iernam
Movit, —

And,

Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis Ierne.

And Mr. Macpherson supposes the soldiers of Agricola and Theodosius to have carried the name of Juverna to the one, and of Ierna to the other. But both he and his two originals have forgotten, that the former appellation is not first noticed by Juvenal, or the latter by Claudian. Mr. Macpherson himself in p. 57 quotes Mela particularly, as using the name of Juverna. And I have already shewn Ierna to have been used ages before the days of Claudian. Both were the

¹ Sir George in p. 375, and Sir Robert in Gibbon's Camden, c. 1490—1497. Edit. 1722.

common appellations of Ireland, when the little district of Strathern was buried in the obscurity of its own insignificance. And, Erin and its relatives being merely denominations of Ireland derived from its westerly situation, any insular or peninsular district in Britain might receive the same appellation from the inhabitants to the East of it. Thus we have Britons and Brigantes upon the Continent and in Albion. Ireland was called *Inis Alga*, and a *cherfonefus* in Caledonia *Elg-in*. And we have the little island of *Era* or *Erra* near the isle of Mull and to the West of it, and the island of *Era* or *Erin* near the Harris¹; *Erin* for the whole body of the Hebrides; *Ierna* on the western side of Loch Fyn in Argyle, and *Iernus* on the western side of Ireland; and *Hierna* in the days of the Romans, and two *Erns* and two *Stratherns* at present, even upon the eastern side of Caledonia².

¹ See Irwin's *Hist. Scot. Nomenclatura Latino-Vernacula*, 1682. p. 71.

² See the Roman station, *ad Hiernam*, in Richard, *Iter* 9. And see Buchanan, p. 39. vol. I. Ruddiman, for an *Ern* in Murray, and an *Ierna* along it, and Ptolemy for the river *Iernus* in Ireland.

THESE

THESE are Mr. Macpherson's three conclusive arguments. And surely without any aggravation it may truly be said of them, that they are vague, contradictory, and weak, the unmeaning effusions of a vivacity, that is perpetually catching at the objects which the imagination presents before it, but finds them all illusive in the grasp, and merely bubbles blown up by the breath of prejudice and passion.—Mr. Macpherson therefore, like a man dissatisfied with his own conclusions, still quivers about the point, and still adds only to his own embarrassment. After his three decisive arguments, his doctrine wants new arguments to support it. And these he gives us in the five following pages.

P. 132. “ In vain has Stillingfleet observed,
 “ that there must have been a sea between Britain
 “ and the Ierna of Claudian.

“ Totam cum Scottus Iernam
 “ Movit, et infesto spumavit remige Tethys.

“ Tethys, or the Ocean, it has been already
 “ shewn, was rather agitated into a foam by
 “ Saxon, than by Scottish rowers. But, not to
 “ insist

“ insist upon that criticism, if by Ierna we are
 “ to understand IAR, the western division of
 “ Caledonia, from Glotta to Tarvisium, the
 “ many extensive arms of the sea, which indent
 “ that coast, will, at once, remove the learned
 “ prelate’s objection. Should we suppose that
 “ Iar-in, or the western islands of Scotland, were
 “ the Ierna of Claudian, the objection will al-
 “ together vanish, as many of these islands are
 “ at a much greater distance than Ireland itself
 “ from the continent of Caledonia. (Still-
 “ fleet remarks, that if Strathern, in the county
 “ of Perth, should be admitted to be the Ierna of
 “ Claudian, it would be ridiculous in the poet to
 “ say, that *the Scots put in motion the whole of a*
 “ *small* district of their country. The bishop did
 “ not recollect, that it was very common with the
 “ antient poets to put a part of a country for the
 “ whole. Latium is often used for the Roman
 “ empire; Mycænæ for all the states of Greece;
 “ and Thule, by Claudian himself, for North-
 “ Britain.

“ Quem littus adustæ
 “ Horrescit Libyæ et ratibus impervia Thule.).”

This argument, taking in the whole of what
 is said in the note as well as the text, is founded
 merely upon suppositions, one implied, and
 the

the other two confessed and acknowledged to be such. "It was very common with the ancient poets," says Mr. Macpherson, "to put a part of a country for the whole." And it is thence implied that this *may* be the case with Claudian here. "If by Ierna we are to understand — the western division of Caledonia, &c.; *should we suppose* that Iar-in, or the western islands of Scotland, were the Ierna of Claudian, &c." And an argument of an hypothetical nature can plainly be of no service against a positive objection.—But let us descend to particulars.

Mr. Macpherson says, that "*he has already shewn* Tethys to be agitated into a foam by Saxon rather than Scottish rowers." He has *shewn* it, as he has *shewn* the truth of too many positions in his work. He has *affirmed* it. His *demonstration* is in p. 114, and runs thus; "We may safely *affirm*, that the Tethys of Claudian was rather agitated into a foam by Saxon than by Hibernian oars."

If we will but allow our author to suppose three things, he will entirely overthrow bishop Stillingfleet's objection. Give me but a footing in another sphere, says our historical Archimedes, and I will shake this at pleasure. And yet, even if we allow him his suppositions and his footing, the prelate's argument and the globe will remain equally

equally unhinged. — Should we suppose with Mr. Macpherson, that Claudian puts a part for the whole when he speaks of Ierna¹; neither Strathern, nor any other part of Caledonia, can be allowed to claim the appellation of Ierna. Claudian says,

*Incaluit Pictorum sanguine Thule,
Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis Ierne.*

Here Ierne cannot mean any part of Caledonia, and be poetically put for the whole of it; because Caledonia itself is mentioned immediately before, as Mr. Macpherson here acknowledges it to be in another place, under the name of Thule. And the Ierna of one passage, and the Ierne of the other, are undoubtedly the same country. — Should the Ierne of Claudian be supposed to mean all the western division of Caledonia, the extensive arms of the sea upon that coast can never come up to the Tethys of Claudian. Or should Ierne be even supposed to mean the western isles of Caledonia, even the sea betwixt them and Caledonia can never comport with the Tethys of the poet. They obviously cannot, in the plain unwrested signification of the word, Tethys or Ocean. And they undoubtedly cannot, according to Mr. Macpherson himself. According to him, Tethys is too great a name to be applied even to the whole wide sea betwixt Caledonia and Ireland. “Tethys signi-

¹ This argument is equally urged by Sir G. Mackenzie, p. 410.

“fies

“fies Ocean : the sea betwixt Germany and Eng-
 “land has some right to that title, but the
 “channel between Ireland and Caledonia was
 “never dignified with so high a name” (p. 115).
 Must not the name, then, be equally too high
 for the channel betwixt Caledonia and its isles?
 And must it not be infinitely too high for the
 mere bays and lochs, that insinuate themselves
 into the land along one side of the channel?

But this is not the only contradiction, in which
 the present passage has involved Mr. Macpherson.
 He is now so entangled in the curious web which
 he is constructing, that, at every motion to ex-
 pedite and finish the work, he is breaking some
 principal thread, and letting in destruction on
 the whole. He has here advanced three suppo-
 sitions, That the Ierna of Claudian means the
 western isles, That it means the western High-
 lands, and That it means Strathern. These are
 obviously incompatible one with another. And
 the contradictoriness of the suppositions is a great
 addition to the impropriety of them¹.—When Mr.
 Macpherson supposes the western isles or High-
 lands to be meant by Ierna, he interprets Clau-
 dian literally, as placing the whole for the whole.
 But, when he supposes Strathern to be meant,
 he understands him figuratively, and makes a part

¹ So Sir George Mackenzie makes Ierna to be Strathern
 in p. 375, and in p. 410 all the northern Highlands as far as
 Inverness.

to stand for the whole.—When he fixes Ierna to the western isles, Tethys signifies the broken sea that is crouded with islands, betwixt them and the continent of Caledonia. When he fixes it to the western Highlands, Tethys imports only a few bays and lochs. And when he fixes it at Strathern and interprets it Caledonia, Tethys must obviously import the Friths of Forth and Clyde. — And, to crown all, the author, in his reference to what he *had shewn* before concerning Tethys, has actually remitted us, in confirmation of a part, to a preceding passage of his own, that has not shewn any thing, and that directly contradicts the whole of it.

P. 133. “ To collect the whole argument on
 “ this head into one point of view: The Scots
 “ of Britain lived in a cold climate; their country
 “ was situated to the West of such neighbours,
 “ as had an immediate communication with the
 “ Romans. The Irish lay under the same dis-
 “ advantage of unfriendly seasons; and their
 “ island was similarly situated. The historians
 “ and poets of the Empire, and the Geographers
 “ of Greece and Rome, exaggerated—the seve-
 “ rity of the climate under which both the Scottish
 “ nations lived. From an exact conformity of
 “ Genius,

“ Genius, language, manners, dress, situation,
 “ and climate, the Scots of both isles had a
 “ much better title to the common appellation
 “ of Hiberni, than Italy, Spain, and a consider-
 “ able part of Africa, had to the name of Hef-
 “ peria ¹. ”

We may judge of the whole argument from this, Mr. Macpherson's, account of it. And no author can desire a fairer treatment, than to be tried by his own representations of his own reasonings.

Our author has here jumbled together the two etymons of Hibernia, which he had given us separately before. We have been told in p. 56 and 57, that Hibernia is “ more probably ” derived from the Latin Hybernus than the British Yverdhon, and that “ we may conclude ” it to be formed from Hybernus. Notwithstanding this, in p. 130 we have it directly deduced from Yverdhon. And here, in p. 133, we have it derived from both together. “ The

¹ So Dr. Abercromby in his *Martial Atchievements of the Scots* says—“ There was a period of time, wherein the Scots “ in Ireland and those in Britain were by foreigners, who “ observed them both to speak the same language, wear the “ same sort of garments, and follow much the same customs, “ almost indifferently called Scots and Hiberni ” (p. 10. V. I.). — And Dr. Macpherson p. 96. argues, that the Irish must have been Caledonians from a “ perfect similarity of genius, language, arms, dress, manners, and customs ” between them.

“ Scots of Britain *lived in a cold climate*— : the
 “ Irish *lay under the same disadvantages of un-*
 “ *friendly seasons.*—The historians and poets of
 “ the Empire, and the Geographers of Greece
 “ and Rome, exaggerated — *the severity of the*
 “ *climate* under which both the Scottish nations
 “ lived. From an exact conformity of — *climate*,
 “ the Scots of both the isles had a — title to the
 “ appellation of Hiberni.” This is a plain de-
 duction of the name of Hibernia from the Latin
 Hibernus. And this derivation is embraced in
 p. 56—57, is rejected in p. 130, and is embraced
 again in p. 133. But it is here embraced along
 with the other. “ The Scots of Britain lived in
 “ a cold climate : *their country was situated to the*
 “ *West* of such neighbours as had an immediate
 “ communication with the Romans. The Irish
 “ lay under the same disadvantages of unfriendly
 “ seasons, and *their island was similarly situated.*
 “ —From an exact conformity of *situation* and
 “ climate, the Scots of both the isles had a much
 “ better title to the appellation of Hiberni, than
 “ Italy, Spain, and a considerable part of Africa,
 “ had to the name of Hesperia [or the West].”
 This is a plain deduction of the name from the
 British Yverdhon. That derivation is embraced
 in p. 130, is rejected in p. 56—57, and is here
 embraced again. And thus both, having been
 alternately embraced and rejected, rejected and
 embraced, are at last united in friendship to-

S

gether.

ether. But the union must be dissolved. The name of Hibernia may perhaps be derived from either one or the other. But it cannot be deduced from both.

Having thus answered the main substance of the argument, let us collect some of the subordinate mistakes in it.—The Caledonian Scots and the Irish are said to have had a title to the Latin name of Hiberni, from the coldness of their climate. But must not the Caledonians themselves, as living in the very same country with the former, have been equally entitled to the same appellation?—They are both said to have had a right to the British name of Yverdhon, from their westerly situation. But must not the other Caledonians, the tribes that lived equally along the western shore, in Ross and Strathnavern, have had equally a right to the same denomination?—They are both said to have been called Yverdhon, because they were “situated to the West
“ of such neighbours as had an immediate communication with the Romans.” But is this true concerning the former? If they resided in Braidalbin, Cantyre, Knapdale, and Lorn, as Mr. Macpherson insinuates in p. 128, they lived more to the North than West of all the Britons of western Valentia; and if they were settled only in Argyle, Lorn, and Lochaber, which seems to be the real truth¹, they were certainly

¹ Bede fixes them on the northern side of the Clyde.

to the North of them all. But if they lived in Strathern only, as Mr. Macpherson intimates that they did in p. 131 and 133, then they were certainly to the East and North of the great bodies both of the Caledonian and Roman Britons. And, even if both had been placed to the West, would this be a competent reason for appropriating the name of Yverdhon to them? Must not all the Britons, from the mouth of the Cluyd to the French channel, have been equally with either entitled to the name of Yverdhon? For were they not all, at least equally, situated "to the West of such neighbours as had an immediate communication with the Romans?" And does not the name of Hibernia appear long before the Romans had any settlement in the island? Mr. Macpherson in p. 56 acknowledges that it does, affirming Cæsar to be the first that mentions the name.—The Caledonian and Irish Scots are said to have had a title to the name of Hiberni, "from an exact conformity of *genius, language, manners, and dress,*" as well as situation and climate. But must not almost all the other Britons, all that were in any of the northern and mediterranean regions of the island, have been equally entitled to the same appellation, as they were equally conformable in all?

THUS have I gone through the several parts of this collective proof. And I have dwelt the longer upon it, as it is Mr. Macpherson's own account of his own greatest argument; in order to shew it to him in its true colours, unthinking, inconsistent, and trifling.

VII.

FROM p. 137 to 141 Mr. Macpherson is employed in tracing the rise and progress of the fiction, the migration of the Irish into Caledonia; before he has been able to prove it one, and when even afterwards he formally endeavours to prove it. *All* his proofs should certainly have come first. And his history of the fiction should have followed at the close of the whole.

From

From p. 141 to 146 Mr. Macpherson is engaged in producing some negative reasons, as he himself calls them, in favour of his own doctrine. But, as in p. 146 he proceeds to his positive, it is not worth while to stay and attack the former. A wise enemy will not blunt his sword in the slaughter of the Velites, when the Legionaries are advancing to the charge against him.

Mr. Macpherson boastingly professes, in p. 137, to "conclude for ever the controversy by arguments, which, though obvious, are new and decisive." And in p. 146 he triumphantly threatens, by collecting into one point of view the most striking of Dr. Macpherson's reasons, and adding some of his own to them, "to quash for ever a system which has been so long imposed for truth upon the world,"

P. 146. "Alba or Albin, it has been already observed, was the first name given to this island by the Gael, who transmigrated from Belgium into the more elevated country of Britain. Hence proceeded the Albion of the Greeks, and the Albium of the Roman language.

262 THE GENUINE HISTORY OF

“guage¹.—The antient Scots, in all the ages
 “to which our information extends, agreed in
 “calling Scotland Alba or Albania. The High-
 “landers and the inhabitants of the Hebrides
 “have, to this day, no other name but Alba
 “for Scotland, and they invariably call them-
 “selves Albanich, or Genuine Britons. The
 “uninterrupted use of this national appellation,
 “from the earliest account we have of their his-
 “tory, furnishes a moral demonstration, that
 “they are the true descendants of the first inha-
 “bitants of Britain. Had they been of Irish ex-
 “traction, they and their ancestors would have
 “undoubtedly assumed a name more suitable to
 “their origin².”

The custom of the Highlanders, in constantly calling their country Alba or Alban, and in denominating themselves Albanich, is here esteemed a moral demonstration of their descent from the first inhabitants of the island, who called it Albion. But it is obviously no demonstration of such a fact at all. For, even supposing the first inhabitants of Albion to have distinguished them-

¹ Albium is a word unknown to the Romans, and is merely Buchanan's arbitrary translation of the Greek Albion. See his History.

² So Sir G. Mackenzie derives the name Albanich from the original name of the island, Albion, p. 387. And so Dr. Macpherson, p. 116.

selves

selves by the name of Albánich, the preservation of the name by the Highlanders would prove no more their particular and peculiar descent from them; than the retention of the name of Britons by the Strathclydenses, in the eighth and ninth ages, would prove them the appropriated remains of the Britanni, to the exclusion of the Gallowese, the Welsh, and the Cornish; or than the adherence of the name of Brigantes to the Britons of Yorkshire and Durham, in a much earlier period, evinced them alone to be the progeny of the true Brigantes. The Celtæ of one third of Gaul were peculiarly denominated Galli, and the Galli of one third of Celtica were distinctively denominated Celtæ^r; and yet neither the Galli nor Celtæ were peculiarly and distinctively the descendants of those Galli or those Celtæ, who originally possessed themselves of France. The general appellation of a nation, as I have remarked above, was frequently retained for the designation of some particular tribes in it.

But the names of Alban and Albanich, for the country and inhabitants of the Highlands, have no relation at all to the first colonists of Britain. These I have already shewn to have been denominated Britons, Brigantes, or separated men. And the same name which is

^r Cæsar, p. 1.

now the general appellation of the whole Highlands, was formerly, and is still, the discriminative name of a part only. In the History of Manchester I have shewn a tribe of the Caledonians to have been called Albanii, and to have inhabited a part of Athol, Braidalbin, Strathern, and Menteith¹. And Braid-Albin remains to this day the appropriate appellation of a district in the Highlands. Were the Albanii therefore, or are the inhabitants of Braidalbin, peculiarly derived from the first inhabitants? And a long range of country, that ran in a narrow slip from Derbyshire into Scotland, I have shewn to have been distinguished by the name of Alps, a denomination exactly the same as Alba or Alb-an². Was all the country adjoining to this, therefore, in a particular and specific manner peopled by the descendants of the first colony? If they were, what becomes of the exclusive right of the Caledonians to this descent? And, if they were not, what becomes of the argument from Alba and Alban? These words indeed have as little reference to the first colony, as to the inhabitants of the moon. The preservation of the name of Alp or Alb, in so many parts of the island, shews the island and those parts of it to have been denominated from one common principle of

¹ History of Manchester, p. 410.

² History of Manchester, p. 140.

famenefs. Albion, according to Mr. Macpherson himfelf in p. 39, fignifies the High Land, and in reality imports the Heights. Hence it became the natural designation of that part of our ifland, which muft have been feen from the continent, before any of it was inhabited : and what had for ages been the name of all that was feen, as naturally remained the appellation of all of it afterwards. Hence it was the name of the Albanii of Vefpafiana, who lived in the peculiarly mountainous parts of the moft mountainous region of Caledonia. Hence it was affixed formerly to the long ridge of hills that runs from Derbyfhire into Scotland, and adheres to the wild hills of Braidalbin at prefent. And hence the Highlanders in general diftinguifh their country to this day by the title of Alba or Alb-an, High Land or High Lands, and denominate themfelves the Alban-ich or Highlanders.

But it is very obfervable in the conduct and direction of Mr. Macpherson's argument here, that, even if every thing was true as it is ftated by himfelf, the point propofed would not be proved at all. The queftion betwixt him and his antagonifts is not, whether the whole body of the antient Caledonians or prefent Highlanders be derived from Ireland, but whether a body of Irifh did not come over into Caledonia, and communicate their own name of Scots to the natives.

Mr.

Mr. Macpherson, however, has taken the former question for the latter, and argues from that. Not attempting to prove, that no Irish passed over into the Highlands, and communicated their own name of Scot to the Highlanders, he endeavours to prove only, that the Highlanders do not now acknowledge any Irish appellation for their own. This, we see, is foreign to his purpose. The Highlanders may not do it, and yet may have been conquered by the Irish Scots, and may therefore be denominated Scots by others. The Welsh do not acknowledge the appellation of English, though they have been conquered by them, and are therefore reputed as English in every nation abroad. And the Saxons of all Valentia, being now reduced under the dominion of the Scots, are regularly considered as such even among their brethren of England.

But there is still another remark to be made upon this argument, which evinces still more the great want of precision and distinctness in Mr. Macpherson's ideas and reasonings.—Even if the Highlanders had been peculiarly denominated Albanich or Albanii, even if this had proved them the peculiar progeny of the first colonists of Britain, and even if the question had been, whether the whole body of the Caledonians was derived from the Irish; all these concessions would not have enabled the argument to prove
the

the Highlanders not descended from the Irish. The Highlanders, on this allowance, having been denominated Albanich from their peculiar ancestors, the first colonists of the island; but being at the same time, according to Mr. Macpherson, the actual progenitors of the Irish; the latter must have been the progeny of the first colonists, equally with the former. And Mr. Macpherson even acknowledges in p. 39, that the Irish retain the name of Alba or Albin equally with the Caledonians, as the name of the Highlands, to the present period¹.

Such is the first of those arguments which are said to be "equally new and decisive," which are "to conclude for ever the controversy," and "to quash for ever" the Irish extraction of the Scots. And, if the rest be like this, we may safely affirm, that they will not prove *very* decisive, the controversy will not be *absolutely* concluded, and the Irish extraction of the Scots will not be *totally* quashed.

¹ "The Scottish and *Irish* Gael have brought down the name of Alba or Albin to the present day."

P. 147. " The Belgic nations, who transmi-
 " grated into South Britain before the descent of
 " Julius Cæsar, retained the name of those com-
 " munities on the continent from which they re-
 " spectively derived their blood. The auxiliaries
 " of Vortigern preserved long their original
 " name of Saxons, and the Scots who speak the
 " Galic language have no other name for Eng-
 " land or its inhabitants than Saffon and Saffon-
 " ich. But if the antient Scots have preserved
 " among them the true name of the English, for
 " so many ages after it had been disused by that
 " nation itself, it is much more likely that they
 " must have retained their own indigenous
 " name ¹."

This is also one of the " decisive" and " con-
 " clusive" arguments, that are to " quash for ever"
 the Irish derivation of the Scots. And in the
 margin it is called the " second proof." But in
 the close of the argument, when Mr. Macpher-
 son deduces his inference from it, it amounts,
 according to his own representation, to a mere
likelihood or probability.—We are told in proof
 the first, that the use of the name of Alba and

¹ So Sir George Mackenzie derives Albanach from Albion,
 because the Highlanders call the English Sassenach, p. 387.

Albanich among the Highlanders, for their country and themselves, is *a moral demonstration* of their peculiar descent from the first inhabitants of the island. And in proof the second, where the same argument is pursued, and should therefore be carried farther, we find it only a *likelihood*, not even that the Highlanders are descended from the first colonists, but only that their names of Alba and Albanich were the original appellations of the country and people. This second proof against the Irish extraction of the Scots, is therefore none at all against that, but merely an argument of probability in favour of the antiquity and primitiveness of the name of Alba or Alban for the Highlands. It is not a new or second argument in itself, but merely the buttress of a former one.—And from both it appears, that the appellation, the use of which by the Highlanders, as transmitted to them from their earliest ancestors, furnished *a moral demonstration* of their derivation from the first colonists, has in itself only a *likelihood* of being their original name.

But let us consider the reasoning by itself, as detached from the previous or subsequent arguments, and as only a probable proof, that the original name of the Caledonians in general was Albanich. Thus considered, the argument at first view carries great probability with it. And I have already shewn, what seems a strong confirmation

firmation of it, that one tribe of the Caledonians was actually denominated Albanil in the days of the Romans. But, when we come to examine it more accurately, even in this light it is incompetent and useless. The inference, that, as the Highlanders have preserved the antient name of the English, Saffon, they have therefore much more probably preserved their own, very reasonable as it certainly is, is directly confronted by a fact. And all inferences of reason, on points like these, must bow down to the authority of facts. The Welsh have equally retained the name of Saffon for the English. And yet they have actually lost their own indigenous name of Welsh. Though this appellation, as I have previously shewn, was even borne by them as late as the sixth century, it is now so totally lost among them, that the criticks have denied them ever to have borne it at all. Thus uncertain is all this sort of argumentation. And thus does the dancing meteor continually elude us, even when we think it most substantial and solid.

The whole body of the Caledonians, however, could never have been, and are not now, denominated Albanich. The name of Caledonia comprizing all that large peninsula of land which lies to the North of the Friths, the appellation of Alb-an, or the mountains, could have been given only to the hilly part of the country, in
oppo-

opposition to the levels of the eastern coast, and the plains immediately to the North of Antoninus's Vallum. The inhabitants of these I have already shewn to have been denominated *Mæatae*, or Lowlanders, by the Britons and Romans. And the inhabitants of the hills only are denominated *Albanich*, or Highlanders, at present. The tribes of the Caledonian Lowlands were denominated *Mæatae* formerly, in contradistinction to the nations of the hills. And the clans of the Caledonian mountains are denominated *Albanich* or Highlanders at present, in opposition to the residents of the Lowlands.

This second "decisive" and "conclusive" argument therefore, as the second, is no argument at all. It is only a part of the first. And, even in itself, it is neither decisive nor conclusive. It pretends only to be a probable proof. And it is not even that. In every view, it has been shewn to be grossly defective and erroneous.

P. 147—148. "Had the Scots been originally
 "Irish, *Eirinich* and not *Albanich* would have
 "been their proper name. So far were they
 "from adopting the name of their neighbours of
 "*Hibernia*, that it is well known that both the
 "old

“ old Irish and the inhabitants of the North of
 “ Scotland promiscuously call themselves Gael—
 “ The Welsh, in antient times, distinguished the
 “ Scots of both the British isles by the appellation
 “ of Gaidhel —, much the same with Gael, in
 “ the pronunciation. Should then the Scots be
 “ of Irish extract, it must naturally follow, that
 “ the Picts sprung from the same source, a doc-
 “ trine no less absurd than it is new ¹.”

I sometimes find a difficulty in discovering the immediate aim and direction of our author's arguments. Sensible and acute as he is, they frequently take their course, like an arrow discharged from a feeble bow, languidly fluttering in their progression, and wadling obliquely towards their mark. And he so confounds the precise terms of the question, that I am obliged frequently to recur to them again.

This, as the margin expressly informs us, is the “ third proof ” of “ the Caledonian extraction of the British Scots.” And this, and the two preceding, have all fallen into the fallacy which I have noted in my remarks on the first. They have all grossly deviated from the point under consideration. Instead of proving, or attempt-

¹ The same argument is in Dr. Macpherson at great length, p. 115—128.

ing to prove, that the Scots did not come over from Ireland, and communicate their own name to the Caledonians; Mr. Macpherson argues, that the Caledonians themselves did not come over from Ireland. And in the present Extract he confessedly and avowedly falls into the fallacy. "Had the Scots [the present Caledonians] been originally Irish, Eirinich, and not Albanich, would have been their proper name." "Should then the Scots [the present Caledonians] be of Irish extract, it must naturally follow, that the Picts sprung from the same source." The delusiveness of an equivocal term has imposed upon him. And the word Scot is to him what Belgium was before. But the conclusion, concerning the Picts, should surely have awakened him from his dream, and shewn him the wildness of his error¹.

This argument, therefore, is all an Ignoratio Elenchi. And, if every part of it was true, and if the inference from the whole was just, it would prove nothing concerning "the Caledonian extraction of the British Scots." But neither the premises nor conclusion are just. — If the Caledonians had been originally Irish, Mr. Macpherson says, they would have been called Eiri-

¹ So Sir George Mackenzie goes on in p. 372, 373, 377, 378, 387, &c., arguing with the same unobserved duplicity of meaning on the word Scot.

nich, and not Albanich. But, as Albanich signifies only the Mountaineers, such of them as resided in the Alban or Heights might, and naturally would, have been denominated Albanich, even if they had come from Ireland. And all the Caledonians, as I have just shewn, were not denominated Albanich. Those only were so called that actually resided in the Highlands. — This name of Albanich is principally retained by the western Highlanders at present ¹. And the name of Eirinich, according to Mr. Macpherson himself, must have been equally the appellation of these Highlanders, as he alledges their country to have been the ancient Ierna, and to be actually denominated Eirin by themselves. The two names, therefore, appear not as the distinctive and opposed appellations of two different nations, but are found united together as the joint appellation of the same people. The national designation of Eirinich, which Mr. Macpherson denies to have been ever acknowledged by the Caledonians, appears from himself to be actually acknowledged by them. And the name which He confesses, if it had been found adopted by the Highlanders, would have proved the Irish extraction even of the Caledonians, is found actually adopted by them, according to his own representation, and even by such of them as most faithfully retain the antient

¹ Innes.² P. 56 and 130.

appellation of Albanich. The Caledonians therefore, according to his own assertions, must have been descended from the Irish. And the derivation of the Picts from the same origin, a doctrine which He very justly declares to be "as new as it is absurd," appears to be right upon his own reasonings, and to result necessarily from his own principles.

P. 148. "From the name of the district of Iar-ghael, which, it has been always said, was the first territory possessed by the Hiberno-Scottish colony, there arises a very decisive argument in favour of our system. Iar-ghael is not the name of the country, but of those who inhabited it from the earliest times. It signifies *the western Gael* in opposition to the *eastern Gael*, or the Picts, who possessed the shore of the German Ocean. But what is conclusive against the Irish system is, that Caeldoch, or the country of the Gael, which the Romans softened into Caledonia, is the only name by which the Highlanders distinguish that division of Scotland which they themselves possess."

This is called the "fourth proof" against the Irish extraction of the Scots. And it is actually the last. Let us therefore examine it with par-

ticular attention. It is designed to leave the whole hypothesis with the strongest impression on the mind. And it is accordingly proclaimed by its author to be "a very decisive argument in favour of his system," and absolutely "conclusive against the Irish."

This is called the "fourth proof." But it obviously consists of two distinct and separate proofs. And as the first was unwarily broken into two, so two are combined together in the fourth.

The former of them is called "a very decisive argument," and is mentioned equally as such in p. 130. But it has no weight at all. For, as I have observed before in answer to this very argument, even if we allow Mr. Macpherson all his premises, his conclusion will be still unjust. This is wonderful, but true. If we allow Iargael to be the name of the original inhabitants of Argyle, and if we allow it to signify the Scots as the western Gael, in opposition to the Picts as the eastern; yet what conclusion follows? That the Scots of Argyle were equally Caledonians with the Picts? No, assuredly! It only proves them to be equally denominated Gael. And, as Mr. Macpherson has repeatedly acknowledged even the Irish to be denominated Gael equally with the Picts, so have I shewn the

the appellation to have been common to all the tribes of the Britons.

Thus easily is the force of the first proof repelled. And the second, which claims to be "conclusive," as the other was "decisive," may be answered as easily. It is exactly of the same genius and spirit. And, if we allow Mr. Macpherson all his premises again, his conclusion will be again unjust. If we permit him to interpret Caeldoch into the country of the Gael, and if we acknowledge it to be the same word with the Roman Caledonia, yet no inference will arise from either or both against the Irish extraction of the Scots. The only inference is, that the present and antient Caledonians were denominated Gael. But it does not prove the Scots to have been native Caledonians, because they resided in the country of Caledonia. The word Caeldoch being the same with Caledonia, that name can evince the Caledonian extraction of the Scots no more than this. And the whole compass of the Highlands might be called Caeldoch and Caledonia; and yet the Scots, settled in a part of the country, might be a colony of people derived from Ireland.

So totally weak and unmeaning is this last and closing argument against the Irish extraction of the Scots. And the several parts of it,

T 3 considered

considered merely in themselves, are equally weak.

There is a wild spirit of repetition, which colours over the face of Mr. Macpherson's work. The same arguments present themselves again and again before us, and frequently in the same dress and manner. And this is particularly the case with the present series of reasons. All of them have already received their answers, and have been dismissed before. But they are once more returned, and demand a second hearing. And, as I have given it to the three preceding arguments, for the fuller elucidation of the history, I cannot refuse it to the fourth and last.

Mr. Macpherson asserts the name of Ar-gathel, Iar-gael, or Ar-gyle, to have been the designation of the Scots, as the western Gael, in contradistinction to the Piëts, as the eastern. But the Scots were not the western or the Piëts the eastern Gael, either according to his former account or the truth. According to himself in p. 131 and 133, the Scots, as inhabitants of Ierna, were seated in Strathern within the county of Perth, upon the eastern side of Caledonia and in the very dominions here attributed to the Piëts. But the real country of the British Scots, according to Bede, commenced immediately from the northern margin of the Clyde, and in the present
region

region of Argyle¹. And, according to the oldest account that we have after Bede, the district of Arre-gathel extended not into Ross². If, therefore, we limit the region of the Scots by Ross on the North and the Clyde on the South, it must have contained all Argyle, all Lorn, all Lochaber, and the western part of Inverness. But, in this position of Argathel, the Scots could not be denominated the western Gael by the great body of the Caledonians, as they were to the West only of a small part, and to the North and South of more. And the Picts could still less be denominated the eastern Gael, as possessing the eastern coast. They possessed not merely "the shore of the German Ocean," as Mr. Macpherson here fixes their dominions. But, according to his position of the Scots in Strathern before, the Picts must have occupied all the western Highlands particularly; and, according to his position of the Scots here, along the line of the western Highlands, the Picts must have enjoyed all the rest of the country. The Picts possessed, in fact, the whole extended compass of Caledonia, except Iar-gael, except Lochaber, Lorn, Argyle, and a part of Inverness. They resided therefore to the North and South, as well as the East, of the Scots.

¹ Bede, l. i. c. i.² Innes, p. 771.

And the same people that were first denominated Caledonians, and afterwards Picts, were the inhabitants of Caledonia, even when the Romans were actually in possession of the eastern coast. This therefore demonstrates the name of Iar-gael, Ar-gathel, or Ar-gyle, to have not been deduced from the westerly position of the Scots in Britain. And the system, that was raised upon the interpretation, is as easily destroyed as it was ridiculously erected. Etymology, the mere menial of history, is always ridiculous when she throws off her subjection, and vainly sets up for herself.

We are farther told, that Caeldoch is the word which the Romans softened into Caledonia, and “the only name by which the Highlanders distinguish that division of Scotland which they themselves possess.” But this Mr. Macpherson and I have already shewn to be false.—That Caeldoch is not the only name by which the Highlanders distinguish their division of Scotland, Mr. Macpherson has already proved in p. 38; in which he acquaints us, that “Alba or Albin” [is] the name of [by] which the antient Scots, “in their native language, have, from all antiquity, distinguished their own division of Britain.” Nor is this all the contradiction in our author, concerning the indigenous appellations of the Highlands. Here, in p. 148, we are told that Caeldoch is “the *only* name” for them
among

among the natives. In p. 38 we are assured, that Alba or Albin is equally their Scotch denomination. And in p. 146—147 we are reassured, that there is “*no other name but Alba*” in use for them among the Highlanders. So inattentive is Mr. Macpherson to his own preceding assertions, and so forgetful even of the general and vernacular appellations of his own country!—Caeldoch also I have proved before to be neither Cael-doch, as Mr. Macpherson states it, nor the same with Caledonia. I have shewn it to be Caeld-och, and the same with Gaelt-ach in the Irish, and Galatica and Celtica in Latin. But Caledon I have shewn to be very different, and equivalent only to the Celta-rum of the Romans and the Γαλαῶν of the Græcians. And Gael, so repeatedly alledged by Mr. Macpherson for two contradictory purposes, to prove the descent of the Irish from the Caledonians, and to disprove the Irish descent of the Scots, has been repeatedly shewn to be the common appellation of all the Britons.

But I am tired with refuting the same arguments over and over again; arguments that, like the Irish in the Milesian fables, still rise after they have received their death's wound, and challenge their slayers to a second combat.

THESE

THESE are the four reasons, which, "though obvious," were said to be "new and decisive," and triumphantly boasted "to conclude the controversy for ever," and "to quash for ever a system that has been so long imposed for truth upon the world." And what have they proved upon trial? The mere ghosts of former arguments, again introduced upon the stage to surprize and elevate, and, like true ghosts, pretending to a greater power and authority on their second appearance, than they had in their original condition; the formations of fancy, the creations of darkness, and actually resolving themselves into nothing at the approach of light.

VIII.

MR. Macpherson having thus laboured unsuccessfully in the deduction of the British Scots, it may be expedient for me to investigate their genuine origin. And, as he has endeavoured to make them native Caledonians, I shall endeavour to shew them as they were, the transplanted natives of Ireland. This may now be done with such a decisive weight of evidence, that if Mr. Macpherson had been apprized of it, I am convinced, he would never have written his Introduction. And, from that evidence, the true origin and transactions of the antient Scots have already been given in the History of Manchester. There Mr. Macpherson's objections had been all virtually answered before they were made, and solutions given to his difficulties before they were started. And, as a second and general reply to all his difficulties and objections, I shall here briefly repeat the substance of what I had previously observed on the subject, reducing it all into one comprehensive view, and confirming it with some additional notices.

When

When the Belgæ, about 350 years before Christ, crossed the narrow channel into Britain, and successively subdued all the tribes from Kent to the Land's End; and when, about 250 years afterwards, they invaded several of the neighbouring nations; numbers of the Britons took shipping from the South-western shore of the island, and pushed across the sea into Ireland. There the two colonies of southern Britons, the only inhabitants of the country, associated together into one community, under the one appellation of Scoti. Denominated Gael and Britons, from their original appellations in this island; they received the designation of Scoti, as the discriminative mark of their late emigration from it. The Irish to this day distinguish the Scottish language by the title of Scot-bhearla, and the Scottish nation by the name of Kin-Scuit. And Scuite signifies in the Irish of the Highlands at present, and signified as early as the days of Ossian, an Emigrant, a Wanderer, or a Refugee¹. These, the Scots or Refugees of South-Britain, as other colonies successively settled in Ireland, gradually retired from the margin of the sea, and spread themselves in the interiors of the country. By this means, the whole circumference of the coast being regularly planted with colonies before the days of Ptolemy, the

¹ History of Manchester, p. 433—434.

Scots were entirely cut off from all communication with the shore, and became inclosed in the center of the island. And, thus situated, they necessarily escaped the notice of Ptolemy, who just circles along the shore of the island, and never penetrates, as he does in Britain, into the mediterranean regions of it. The Romans, in the days of Ptolemy, were masters of all the interiors of Britain, but were very naturally unacquainted with the inland division of Ireland. They must however, during their long residence of three centuries afterwards in Britain, have certainly obtained a good general knowledge, at last, even of the midland and central inhabitants of Ireland. And Richard has accordingly transmitted to us some notices which he collected from them, relative to the origin and existence of the Scoti there.

But, when the population of the island was compleated, wars commenced betwixt the different tribes. The whole body of the Islanders became engaged in the contest. They divided into two parties. One consisted of the Belgic nations, and the other of the British. And the latter confederated together, like the Caledonians and Jews before them, under the denomination of their principal tribe, and received the general appellation of Scots. The war terminated finally about the year 260. The Belgæ were subdued. The vanquished
adopted

adopted the appellation of their conquerors. And all the nations of Ireland were embodied into one Empire, under the general denomination of Scots¹.

At the commencement of these wars, a younger son of the royal family of the Creones in Caledonia, having been sent over with succours to the Britons, was chosen their Pendragon by the kings; and the crown was fixed hereditary in his family. And, soon after the conclusion of them, the royal line of the Creones being extinguished, their dominions must necessarily have devolved to the monarchs of Ireland. This was assuredly the great occasion, that first settled a colony of Scots in Caledonia. The occasion indeed is merely conjectural: but it has such strong coincidences of reason and fact in support of it, as almost lend it the sanction of History. The royal line of Ireland appears decisively from Ossian, to have been the younger branch of the house of the Creones. This house appears as decisively to have finally failed in the person of Ossian, about the year 320. And in the year 320 we see a body of Scots detached from Ireland, and settling in the country of the Creones. The monarch of Ireland would take possession of the devolved kingdom, and naturally give it as an appenage to one

¹ History of Manchester, p. 443—446.

of his sons. And in 320 Fergus established himself in the country, with a body of troops and the authority of a sovereign¹. These acquisitions of the Scots in Britain were exactly commensurate with the territories of the Creones, beginning from, or nearly from, the borders of Rofs, and extending to the bank of the Clyde². And the Scots settled in the country with the absolute consent of the Caledonians, as appears decisively from the friendly concurrence of both, within only 20 years afterwards, in expeditions into the Roman Province³. Nor did they merely settle there by consent. They took possession of the Creonian dominions, in consequence of the laws and prescriptions of the country; as the Creones now assumed a new appellation from them, and were denominated, like them, Ar-gathel, Iar-gael, or Ar-gyle. This name has puzzled all the criticks and historians. But it is nothing more than the IRISH. The Britons being universally called Gathel and Gael, such of them as went over into Ire-land, Iar-in, or Er-in would naturally have received the appellation of Iar-Gael, Er-Gael, Ar-Gael, or the Ir-ish Britons; and the appellation remains to this day among the Irish, in their customary appellation for their own language, Caelich

¹ History of Manchester, p. 444, and 447.

² P. 412, and the dimensions of Argathel before.

³ Marcellinus, l. xx. c. 1.

Eir-inach, or the Ir-ish British. And the colonists of Fergus would as naturally bring it back with them into Britain, retaining the designation as the note of their peculiar derivation from Ireland. These are such remarkable and striking coincidences, with regard to the actuating reason of that historical fact, the settlement of the Scots in Caledonia; as perhaps no conjectural reason ever possessed before, and nearly give it all the confidence of attested truth.

Thus did the refugees of southern Britain gradually become the denominators of all the Irish. And thus did they afterwards establish a colony upon the eastern shore of Caledonia, and in the year 320 first fix the appellation of Scots within the island of Britain. Thence the name was carried gradually, with their possessions, over the whole extent of the present Scotland. And Hibernians, Caledonians, Roman Britons, and Saxons, have all concurred to form the present respectable nation of the Scots in Britain.

This then is the genuine origin of the Scots, undisguised by the romantic impertinences of the Irish fabulists on the one hand, and undistorted by the bold fictions of Caledonian prejudice on the other. And at the close it is curious to observe, that the great point which has been so long agitated between the Irish and Scotch criticks, and “has for a century and an
“ half engaged two nations of contending anti-
“ quarians

"quarians in war¹," is now finally determined in favour and disfavour of both. The Irish, and their auxiliaries of England, Lloyd, Stillingfleet, Innes, Carte, and others, who asserted the Cantabrian or Scandinavian descent of the Scots; and such of the Scotch as, in equal opposition to both, strenuously maintained a Caledonian origin for their ancestors; these were all equally and partially mistaken.—They who asserted the Cantabrian or Scandinavian origin of the Scots, and were therefore wrong, affirmed likewise their immediate deduction from Ireland into Caledonia, and were therefore right. And they who denied the Cantabrian or Scandinavian descent of the Scots, and were therefore right, denied likewise their immediate derivation from Ireland, and were therefore wrong. The Scots now appear to have been originally Britons of the South, who migrated from the western shore of Britain into Ireland, and afterwards passed from Ireland into Caledonia.—And they who affirmed, and they who denied, the Caledonian extraction of the Irish Scots, affirmed and denied what was equally true and equally false. As the name of Scot was communicated from the South-Britons in the center of Ireland to all the tribes upon the coast, it comprized the Caledonian nations of the Robogdii, the Venicnii, and the Hardinii. And

¹ History of Manchester, p. 430.

the Scots of these three tribes, who possessed all the North and North-West of the island, from Fair Head to Ballyshannon, were all original Caledonians¹.—They also who affirmed, and they who denied, the Caledonian descent of the British Scots, affirmed what they could not prove, but what was yet a truth, and denied what all history denied, and what was yet no falsehood. The Scots, that came from Ireland under Fergus, were brought from the country of the Caledonian Robogdii, from the district in the North-western parts of Antrim, which was formerly denominated Dalrieta and is now named Route; and were therefore called Dalreudini in the days of Bede, and their country Dalrieta to the 11th century². And the Scots, who have given their own denomination to all Caledonia and all Valentia, were Caledonians that had migrated into Ireland, and that re-migrated into Caledonia afterwards.—Lastly: the Irish and English, who affirmed the derivation of the British Scots from Ireland, and referred, as they both constantly referred, the arrival of these Scots to the commencement of the 6th century, affirmed an indu-

¹ History of Manchester, p. 434, 442, and 443—444.

² Bede, l. i. c. 1, Usher, p. 320, and Camden, p. 769. And the annals of Tigernach, one of the oldest histories that the Irish have, assert the Scots of Caledonia to have been derived from Dalrieta in Ireland: Usher, p. 321.

bitable fact in the former, but contradicted equally the Roman and British accounts in the latter, and gave their Scottish antagonists an infinite advantage over them and the truth. The Scots migrated into Britain, and settled in Caledonia, in the year of Christ 320, and were therefore associated with the Picts in expeditions into the Province as early as 340, and have their ravages so frequently mentioned by the Roman and British writers, through a series of 90 or 100 years after it.

This is the true state of the case betwixt these historical disputants. The whole authenticated history of the origin of the Scots, and of their translation to Caledonia, was never yet given, I apprehend, without that dubiousness of testimony which was frequently of equal moment on both sides of the points disputed, without those adherences of falsehood which disparaged even real and actual truths, and in such a manner as was consistent with every note of time and every incident of history, till it was given in the History of Manchester. And, what is remarkable, this new system of facts is calculated, almost equally with Mr. Macpherson's, to gratify that national pride of the Highlanders, which ought to be moderated, as every other affection of the mind is, but should always be encouraged, as the soul of all the national virtues. The Irish, that were the progenitors of the British Scots, were them-

selves the descendants of Caledonians. And, if the Highlanders submitted to the Scots or were reduced by them, they submitted merely to their countrymen, and the Caledonians were reduced by Caledonians. If therefore Mr. Macpherson had entered into this walk of history, he might have equally flattered the prejudices of his countrymen, and have opened a dark and important period of our history. But, unhappily for himself, he took a different direction. Resolving in his own mind to rescue the early part of our annals from "the possession of fiction and "romance", he has unintentionally strengthened the claims of fiction, and unwittingly endeavoured to add the authority of right to the possessions of usurpation. And he has gone on accumulating one romantic notice upon another, though all history concurred to reclaim him from his error, and though the attestations of history were confirmed by the living testimony of language; the Caledonians, who were reduced by the Scots of Er-in or Ireland, having adopted the appellation of their conquerors; the nation and country being now universally denominated Scots and Scotland; the former being expressly denominated Hibernia as late as the 11th century, and the latter the Irishery as late as the

14th¹, and their dialect of the British being invariably entitled the Ir-ish or Er-se to the present moment; and the appellations of Scot for the people, and of Erse for the language, being now, in the concurrent usage of all the rest of the islanders, entirely confined and appropriated to the Gael and Gaelick of the Highlands.

¹ Innes, p. 659, and Sir George Mackenzie, p. 390, V. I.—
Irwin in his Hist. Scot. Nomenclatura, 1682, p. 6, says,
“Our Isle-men and Highlanders are very oft named Hiberni
“by strangers—, and *at this day* the English and our Low-
“landers call and count them Irish.”

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U.S. ...
I HAVE

I HAVE now gone over the whole extent of Mr. Macpherson's arguments with regard to the British history. And I have gone over them with a minuteness of attention and a punctuality of reply, that was scarcely ever bestowed upon a work before. This I owed to the great credit which Mr. Macpherson has obtained by his dissertation with the public, to the high esteem which I entertain for his abilities and genius, and to the great importance and obscurity of the history. Not a single argument in the Introduction, I believe, is omitted in the reply to it. And my answers, I hope, have not turned upon little and circumstantial points, but on the main and essential parts of the question. They have not fluttered merely in idle ostentations of victory over words and syllables. And they have not endeavoured to catch Mr. Macpherson insidiously in the mere eddy of argumentation. I have constantly charged him home, I think, upon the great and leading particulars of the question. And when I have done this, when I have shewn the insufficiency of any argument as to its principal end and design, I have then endeavoured to point out the subordinate mistakes in it. I have endeavoured to break the phalanx that was particularly opposed to me at the time: and, when the rout was begun, I have studied to improve the victory by pursuing the runaways, and by picking up as many of them as I could.

These troops indeed were more formidable in their appearance on the field, than they have been found in the hour of battle. The gaiety of their attire, and the bravery of their aspects, promised a much greater resistance than I have met with from them. And I, who entered upon the contest with a dubious spirit, and a tremulous exertion of courage, soon warmed with my own success, and became assured of the victory.

In this, as in the general event of the contest betwixt Mr. Macpherson and me, I may have been deceived by that kindling ardour of spirit, which often anticipates the conquest it cannot make, or by that delusive selfishness of judgment, which frequently flatters the vanity with visionary triumphs. But, when I coolly look back upon the progress and conclusion of the debate, I see no reason to think myself deceived by either the one or the other.

The plan which Mr. Macpherson had proposed to himself, was to prove the existence of three distinct and principal colonies in Britain, to deduce them in an historical manner from the continent, and to point out their respective operations in the island. And, as the first and earliest of the three was to be the progenitors of the present Highlanders and Scots, so was it also to become the original and principal possessors of Ireland. This Mr. Macpherson fancied agreeable to the suggestions of history, to answer to the great
revo-

revolutions in Gaul, and to correspond with the interior disposition of Britain. But, to make the records of both conformable to the demands of this hypothesis, he has stretched out the history where it was too short, he has curtailed it where it was too long, and has given us a narration at last, with scarcely a single member of that which we used to contemplate in the authors of Greece and Rome. And this is executed with such a gross perversion even of his own quotations, and with such plain and manifest corruptions even of his own authorities, such erazings of records, and such interpolations of histories, as pain me greatly for Mr. Macpherson's sensibilities, because they exhibit him in a light, I am sure, the very opposite of his real character. Mr. Macpherson, I am persuaded, is a gentleman of high honour and spirit, and could not voluntarily have been capable of such actions, even in imagination. But what then must be the magic power of that prejudice, which could thus bind up the force of a discerning spirit, and suspend all his faculties of precision and judgment; could thus warp his mind from its natural bias of fairness, and throw the illiberal hue of dishonesty over one of the most ingenuous and candid of men! It is surely a melancholy instance of the weakness of the human intellect, even in its manly exertions of strength. And those only have a
 right

right to triumph over Mr. Macpherson, who are placed in some sphere removed at once from the frailties and the virtues of humanity, who live out of the reach of prejudice and the power of passion, who have never felt their minds seduced by the enchantments of a new hypothesis, and have never suffered their imaginations to be fired, and their understandings contracted, by the calenture of a patriot spirit.

Mr. Macpherson has asserted the existence of three colonies in Britain. But he has proved only one of them to have had any being in it. His Gael, as a distinct colony from his Cimbri and his Belgæ, he has nowhere argumentatively deduced into the island. And that body of the Britons which is peculiarly the object of the author's attention, and made by him the inhabitants of Caledonia and Ireland, has no real existence in his history at all. The existence of his Cimbri, also, is founded wholly on the slight basis of a verbal criticism, the groundwork of the name of Cymri. And, if this would be sufficient authority for such a capital point in his history, then might "the pillars of the world be rottenness, and "earth's base be built on stubble". But, what is still more remarkable, the whole even of this argument is itself established upon a supposition,

¹ Shakespear.

and

and upon one which is grossly erroneous, and not even attempted to be proved, That Cimber signified, not a native, but a German, Gaul : as the Indian theology founded the world upon the back of an elephant, and planted the elephant itself—upon the back of a tortoise. And the only one of the three colonies, that is proved to have been in the island, is the Belgic. Two thirds of the author's historical system are left ungrounded by himself. And the third carries such a strong mixture of falshood with it, by dividing the Cimbri, or German Celtæ, from the Belgæ, by confounding the original arrival of the Belgæ with the much later descent of Divitiacus, and by making the Belgæ to press the Cimbri beyond the Humber, and to urge the Gael into Ireland, that even this is in effect unproved by Mr. Macpherson ; and the certain truth is drest up with such an accompaniment of falshood, that we cannot admit it for real history.

This is a just and fair account of the general state of Mr. Macpherson's work. And, thus defective as he is in the great outline of his Introduction, he has actually filled it up with figures that are all distorted from their true proportion, and with objects that ought never to have met in the same piece. The arguments in general are

dark, inaccurate, indirect, and contradictory. No regular and steady light is diffused through the whole, that, like the dawn of day, gradually increases as it continues, and enlarges as it proceeds, till it is carried at last to a meridian brightness. But, instead of this, a mere twilight prevails over the work, that gives us continually an indistinctness of objects, and just "flings half an image on the straining eye;" that, clear in the commencement, is gradually dimmed in the progress, one shade spreading over another, till the objects, that first attracted our attention, successively sink from the sight and are forgotten, and the author at last is nearly losing himself and his reader in the dark.

This is, I believe, as just a representation as can be given, even by the hand of candour itself, of the conduct of Mr. Macpherson in the general prosecution of his arguments. He has all the marks of genius and sensibility about him, but of a genius not tutored in argumentation, and of a sensibility not reduced under the discipline of thought. He thinks strongly, but not regularly. His mind shoots out in vigorous and spirited sallies of sentiment: but it is not accustomed to keep up its vigour, and to maintain its spirit, in a painful deduction of ideas. Blest by nature with the power, but not borrowing from
the

the schools the habit, of thinking, the turn of his argumentation is continually irregular, and the general force of his reasonings weak and feeble. He is admirably adapted for the brisk essays of a skirmishing war. But he has unwarily entered into a battle, where heavy armour and practised evolutions are sure to gain the day. Not a steadily distinguishing thinker, not a perseveringly accurate reasoner, he is soon confounded with the multiplicity of his own ideas, and seldom sees the object distinctly at which he levels his argument. Spending himself too much in attentions to the colouring of his style, and throwing himself out in a gay irradiation of language, he has no inclination to examine his arguments severely, and no power to exert the rigours of criticism upon them; as the birds under the tropicks have their superior gaiety of plumage deducted to them, by the deprivation of almost all the powers of harmony.

From this want of discrimination in his ideas, and from this defect of accuracy in his reasonings, Mr. Macpherson has even fallen into repeated and gross contradictions. And this is the most striking feature in the whole aspect of his work. The inconsistencies of his reasonings are so great, and the oppositions in his quotations, remarks, and incidents are so palpable, that his arguments have been compleatly destroyed before, by being only set in array against each other. The contrariety

trariety of parts to parts is so glaring, and this begins so early in the work, and is continued so regularly through it, that in it, as in man, the seeds of death are incorporated with the first elements of life, that they "grow with its growth and strengthen with its strength," and, on the first occasion that has invited them forth, have burst out, as we have seen, to the absolute destruction of the whole.

It is not the unhappiness of Mr. Macpherson, that he is mistaken in some unimportant circumstances, that he has misrepresented some subordinate facts, and that he has failed in some inconsiderable reasonings. It is not his unhappiness, that he is mistaken in several circumstances of consequence, that he has misrepresented several incidents of importance, and that he has failed in several considerable arguments. And it is not his unhappiness, that he has even failed occasionally, or yet frequently, in main circumstances, in essential incidents, and in arguments of the first magnitude. But it is his singular and unparalleled infelicity, that he has almost regularly failed in all; that scarcely a circumstance, a fact, or a reasoning, however slight and insignificant, is just or apposite; that nearly every important circumstance, every consequential incident, and every essential argument, are either frivolous in their nature or useless in their application; and that each capital and leading topic of the work

is

is generally one great chaos of undigested materials, arguments without shape or form, reasonings heterogeneous and repugnant, and darkness brooding over the face of the whole.

This is such a delineation of a work of learning and genius, that my benevolence is hurt, while justice urges my hand to draw it. The portrait is strongly featured. But it is an exact likeness. It is the immediate transcript of the feelings of my own mind. And it is fully justified by the detail of extracts and examinations before. Yet, amid the sternest severity of truth, what sort of spirit must that be, which shall not grieve for the author, while it is obliged to reprobate his work? Who will not particularly sigh with me over the fate of a writer, that, possessed of great brilliancy of parts, and furnished with considerable stores of learning, was chiefly unhappy from the selection of his subject? Mr. Macpherson might certainly have played his part with the highest reputation and success, within the circle of truth and incident. But, in a paroxysm of patriot fondness, resolving to heighten into a demonstration what was unable to receive even the colouring of probability, he has fallen in the attempt, as every man in the same circumstances must have fallen. If the antient giants had exerted their singular vigour of body in contests with mere mortals, they must have been as fortunate as they were strong; but in a triumphant
bravery

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bravery of spirits exalting their aims, and attempting to accomplish what no force could effect, they necessarily failed in their efforts, and were crushed by the mountains that they vainly wielded, and buried under the islands that they vainly hurled, in a wild hostility against the skies.

THE END.

MEM.

M E M.

A FEW weeks after the publication of this work, Mr. Macpherson honoured it with the following notice in an advertisement prefixed to a pretendedly new edition.

“ THE following sheets were reprinted before
 “ the Reverend Mr. Whitaker’s answer ap-
 “ peared; and had they not, it would have
 “ produced no change of sentiment, no altera-
 “ tion of system. I admire his ingenuity. I
 “ have a respect for his learning: but I am
 “ neither converted by his authorities, nor con-
 “ vinced by his arguments. On a subject so
 “ speculative, the opinions of men must vary;
 “ and every writer has a right to carry his
 “ dissent before the tribunal of the public. To
 “ them the decision is left. I have closed a
 “ proof, which my adversaries may, if they
 “ please,

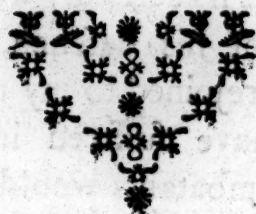
“ please, oppugn. Tired of polemical writing,
 “ I leave my system to its fate ; and even my
 “ vanity joins issue with my indolence. I hate
 “ to fight without spectators. Should Mr.
 “ Whitaker and I retire into antiquity, the ob-
 “ stinate world would not follow us to so sterile
 “ a field. The trophies of victory would dis-
 “ appear in darkness, and the combatants re-
 “ main with nothing but their toil.”

This is the whole of Mr. Macpherson's reply.
 And it is all that could reasonably be expected
 from him. In one of the severest trials to which
 the candour of the human heart can be sub-
 jected, great allowances must be made for any
 seeming strokes of disingenuousness. The na-
 tural self-complacency of every mind will try to
 throw a shade over its own convictions, and take
 refuge behind its judgment or its vanity, its own
 indolence or that of the public. And, considered
 with these allowances, Mr. Macpherson is very
 candid, and has virtually submitted to every plea
 that has been urged against him. He confesses
 the inaccuracies and contradictions, the misrea-
 sonings, and the misquotations, into which the
 equal vivacity and indolence of his genius have
 thrown him. He owns the fascinating power of
 patriotism on his mind. And he acknowledges the
 the

the historical system, which was the production of all these principles, to be merely the fading fabric of an eastern romance, rising in a night, and vanishing in the morning. Having heard the full charge against himself, He expressly declines to make any reply to it. He will not give his judges any farther trouble; but throws himself on the mercy of the court.

And this ingenuous behaviour is of singular service to the interests of history. Had Mr. Macpherson taken a different part; had he, however insufficiently, attempted to vindicate his system, and drawn from me (as he certainly would have drawn) an examination of his defence, then replied to my answer, and rejoined to my reply; the cause of truth must have suffered in the protracted contest. The combatants would soon have been lost to the general eye, in the cloud which their own efforts must have raised about them. And these points of history would have been supposed by the many to remain still undecided, have therefore called out future writers, and produced an indeterminable rotation of controversy. But this is happily not the case at present. And that it is not, we owe to the fairness of Mr. Macpherson's conduct. These historical subjects, which have found employ for the active spirit of criticism during two centuries nearly, and were

still fluctuating from side to side, are now decisively settled one way, and even in the opinion of the warmest advocates for the other. And it is the peculiar good-fortune of the present controversy, that it is closed itself, and has closed a long succession of disputes, with an earliness that has left it all under the eye of the public, and with a satisfactoriness that is acknowledged even by the vanquished.



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E R R A T A.

P. 93. note, last line, for *now* read *now*.

P. 149. l. 7. for Hiver read Hiber.

P. 163. l. 15. for "the period" read "that period".

P. 187. to note ³ add this, "See also Ware's Ireland, Harris, p. 178—179."

P. 205. note, l. 9. the words "for believing those of Ireland to have come from the Scots in &c." should stand thus, "for believing the Scots of Ireland to have come from those in &c."

P. 237. last line but one, for Den read Deu.

